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THE PILGRIMS

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THE PILGRIMS



ELYHOUTH ROCK

THE PILGRIMS

BY

FREDERICK A. NOBLE

PASTOR EMERITUS OF UNION PARK CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, CHICAGO

AUTHOR OF "DIVINE LIFE IN MAN," "DISCOURSES ON PHILIP-
PIANS," "OUR REDEMPTION," AND "TYPICAL
NEW TESTAMENT CONVERSIONS"

"The noblest ancestry that ever a people looked back to with love
and reverence." — JOHN G. WHITTIER

BOSTON

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TO
EDWARD FRANKLIN WILLIAMS
A FRIEND
WHOSE FRIENDSHIP IS OF LONG STANDING
AND
TENDERLY CHERISHED

.

PREFACE

THE story of the Pilgrims is not merely a twice-told tale — it is a tale which has been told over and over.

Historians renowned for their ability and learning, essayists distinguished for their literary skill, orators of the highest order, poets of world-wide fame, and patient chroniclers have all taken it in hand; and not a few of the facts entering into the narrative are as familiar as household words.

Of the earlier writers, Bradford, Winslow, and the Mortons, along with what is found in Robinson's works and the records and laws of the colony, have supplied a fund of information, original and precious above all that anybody else can ever hope to contribute, towards our knowledge of this little Plymouth colony. Of the later writers, Hubbard, Prince, Young, Baylies, Thacher, Hunter, Davis, Cheever, Bacon, Elliott, the Dexters — three of them, the father, Henry Martyn Dexter, the son, Morton Dexter, and Professor Franklin Bowditch Dexter of Yale College — Goodwin, Brown, Mackennal, Bartlett, Griffis, Arber, and Ames, besides historians like Hutchinson, Barry, Bancroft, Hildreth, and Palfrey, who have had to deal with the Pilgrims; and many others, some of whom like Neal, Campbell, Byington, Fiske, and Winsor, if not dealing directly with this subject, have yet dealt with subjects which led them to throw important side-lights upon it; and biographers like Steele, who has written the life of Brewster, and O. S. Davis, who has made a fresh contribution to our mass of Pilgrim literature in his recent book on Robinson, would seem to leave nothing unsaid which ought to be said.

Why then attempt to repeat for the hundredth time what has been so often and so well set forth by other and eminent authors? Why venture to multiply the volumes — so many and so attractive — which already enrich our libraries?

To be frank, it is a fascinating and glorious story to tell. It does one's own soul good to trace the footsteps, recount the experiences, and record the virtues of the heroic men and women who were identified with the movement which invested the *Mayflower* with an immortal interest, erected Plymouth Rock into a shrine of freedom — religious and civil alike — and culminated in large bodies of churches self-regulating and independent of the State, and in our glorious republic. In the light of the fierce opposition they met, it is impossible to rehearse the incredible hardships which this dauntless band of liberty-lovers had to endure, the sublime steadiness with which they held to their faith and purpose, the loftiness of life and character which they illustrated, and the unique success with which their efforts were finally crowned, without arriving at a new conviction of the value both to the individual and the state of loyalty to conscience and a new confidence in the perpetual presence and guiding energy of God in human affairs.

But this, though a sufficient warrant for weaving the facts into a web of connected narrative for one's own benefit, or for the benefit of small circles of friends, can hardly be advanced as a valid justification of publishing what may have been written.

There were really two motives which led to the writing of this book.

One was to gather and combine the leading facts, and the leading facts only, in the story of this remarkable group of men; and then, with each fact falling into its own place, to present them in a form to be easily grasped and held in memory.

Here in our land constant reference is made to the Pilgrims. Each succeeding generation has to learn anew and for itself who they were and what they did. For this, students in our higher grades in schools and colleges have

ample opportunity. Boys and girls, however, whose school-days have been few, and young men and women whose lives are largely spent in stores and mills, and not infrequently members of reading circles and study classes of the more ambitious sort, require an account of this advance-guard of our free institutions which is so simple and direct that it can be easily mastered. Many years of intimate association with just such learners as are here described, and of efforts to familiarize them with the main features of early New England history, have shown the indispensableness of books, which, while not losing sight of the proper chronological order, yet put those events and incidents and movements, which are of the same class and are naturally affiliated, together, and bring them before the eye at a single sitting and in their entirety. This applies more especially to the leading facts in the experience of the colony on this side of the water. For example, one who wishes to know how the Pilgrims treated the Indians, how they managed to meet the expenses of their migration and work free from debt, what kind of schools they had and when they started them, how they organized and maintained their churches, what sort of government they instituted and what was the spirit of their legislation, or anything else which was of vital concern to them and is of interest to those who live after them, ought to have the information laid before him in a compact and duly articulated form. To the degree to which it seemed permissible this plan has been carried out in this volume.

The other motive was a conviction that the movement of which these men were the exponents ought to be set forth in an interpretative way. Macaulay says that "facts are the mere dross of history," and that "the writer who does not explain the phenomena as well as state them performs only one half of his office."

The Pilgrims were a simple folk, but they stood for a great and sacred cause. In all history there are few acts of men so freighted with significance as the coming from the Old World to the New of this little band of English exiles. Who were these exiles? How came they to be? What was the cause which they espoused? Were their

principles and actions principles and actions for which it was worth while to suffer and make sacrifices? Exactly what, in fine, were their contributions to the progress of society? These are questions which may well be asked. They are questions, too, which ought to be met with wise and stimulating answers. Facts speak louder than words; but facts speak loudest when words are used to place them in their true light and give them their proper emphasis. Names and dates, causes and consequences, relations of parties and successions of events are important. But in the instance of these men, whose comprehension of liberty both for Church and State was so advanced, and whose devotion to duty was so sublime, it is a thousandfold more important to catch their spirit and answer back to their lives with lives set aflame and kindled to white heat with religious zeal, patriotic devotion, and unswerving loyalty to conscience by their example. It was with the purpose and in the hope of doing something in this direction that the work now completed was undertaken.

These, then, were the ends in view in this fresh attempt to tell the story of the Pilgrims. My own conclusions will be stated freely, but little space will be given to clearing up controverted points in history and settling debated questions. All facts and incidents which appear to be of sufficient importance to lend interest to the recital, or throw light on men and movements, have been given a place in the body of the narrative. For these reasons it has been thought better not to burden the pages of the book with foot-notes and references. It would be too much to claim, or to expect, that no mistakes have been made in the transfer of statements by other authors, or in the apprehension in every instance of the precise intent and meaning of what somebody else has said; but the utmost care has been taken to make all quotation marks tell the truth, and to treat views differing from my own with the courtesy and candor to which all honest opinions are entitled.

It remains to bear testimony to the deep personal satisfaction which the preparation of this volume has brought into my own life, and to express the trust that this new setting of the story of the trials and triumphs of our Fathers,

PREFACE

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however imperfect and inadequate it may be found, may interest persons here and there who otherwise would not have pursued studies along this line, and so would have missed the inspiration which comes from intelligent and sympathetic contact with heroic souls. A more complete surrender to the influence of these men and to the ideas and aims for which they stood is, in my judgment, a consummation devoutly to be wished. For in these times and under present tendencies the thing which we have least to fear is too much enthusiasm for Plymouth Rock.

F. A. NOBLE.

EVANSTON, ILL., May 1, 1907.

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I

THE WAY OPENED FOR THE PILGRIMS

The minds of men having been prepared beforehand, not only by the writings of Wycliffe and the martyrdom of Huss and Jerome, but also by the new impulse and independence which had been given to thought in consequence of the revival of learning then in progress; and by the excitement which the discovery of a new world, and of new paths and regions for commerce, had spread over Europe; and the invention of printing which provided a new instrumentality for the diffusion of knowledge and the promotion of free enquiry — only a few years elapsed from the time when Luther in the University of Wittenburg, and Zwingli in the cathedral of Zurich, made their first efforts, before all Europe was convulsed with the progress of a great intellectual and moral emancipation. — LEONARD BACON.

The progress of the Reformation in Germany, by the preaching of Luther, Melancthon, and others, with the number of books that were published in those parts, some of which were translated into English, revived learning, and raised people's curiosity to look into the state of religion here at home. — DANIEL NEAL.

The method of Providence in history is never magical. In proportion to the magnitude of the catastrophe are the length of time and the variety of agencies which are employed in producing it. Events, because they are unexpected and startling, are not to be ascribed merely to some proximate antecedent. But . . . we must take into account the personal qualities and the plastic agency of individuals not less than the operations of general causes. Especially if a revolution in long established opinions and habits of feeling is to take place, there must be individuals to rally upon: men of power who are able to create and sustain in others a new moral life which they have first realised in themselves.

GEORGE P. FISHER.

The Pilgrims

I

THE WAY OPENED FOR THE PILGRIMS

THE Puritan was before the Pilgrim. The Puritan was the first stage in the development of the Pilgrim, — the blossom of which the Pilgrim was the fruit. Not all Puritans were Pilgrims; but, speaking in general, all Pilgrims were Puritans. There was an arrested Puritanism, — a Puritanism which, instead of passing over into Separatism, became bitter against it and did all in its power to thwart its aims; but Puritanism in the sense of aspiration for more holiness of character, for larger freedom of direct personal access to God, and for opportunity for wider usefulness in spreading abroad a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and informing society with the rules and habits of righteousness, was the soil out of which the Pilgrim sprang. Puritanism, non-conformity, separatism, exile, — partly enforced and partly voluntary, — these were the successive degrees through which those men passed who began by wanting things sweeter and better in the Church in their own home-land, and who ended by going away and planting in a foreign land a church which they conceived to be more nearly in conformity with the plan and spirit of the gospel.

Had there not been first a Puritan there would have been no Pilgrim to write a new chapter in the story of Christianity and human progress. Had there been no Pilgrim to emphasize with heroic daring and large sacrifice his sense of the need of reformation in the conduct of religious life and in the management of ecclesiastical affairs, Puritanism, in all probability, would have been like one of those western

streams which starts in the mountains, and is clear and vigorous in its flow for a while, but before it reaches the ocean is lost in the sands.

It is not easy to fix definitely upon the beginnings of Puritanism. It is easy to trace the influences which led up to it, — easy to detect signs of its approach, even as one can detect signs of the coming spring while it is yet winter, — but just who were the first Puritans, and just where Puritanism first began to round out into shape, are fields of quest which slope back into the mists of the unexplored and uncertain.

I

The truth uttered by Wycliffe, so long before the great German Reformer had acted his part in the sublime drama of human progress, baffled and arrested though it was, never lost its hold on the English mind. Wycliffe and the Lollards The light shed by Wycliffe, who with justice has been called "The Morning Star of the Reformation," obstructed and refracted though it was, never wholly faded out of the English sky. The seed scattered by Wycliffe, who was following the Master in His spiritual husbandry, trodden underfoot though it was by the iron hoof of blind persecution, never ceased to hold in it a germinating power. From Wycliffe's time on Puritanism was in the air. It was the pollen with which the wind was fertilizing religious thought. By a subtle chemistry of growth it was persistently pushing its way through a thousand rootlets into the new and expanding life of the nation. Like leaven in the lump, for a hundred years and more before Henry snatched the church of his realm from the greedy and defiling hand of the pope that he might bruise and besmear it in his own clumsy grasp, the message which Wycliffe declared from his rediscovered Bible had been quietly working in the mental processes and spiritual aspirations of the most devout of the people. Wycliffe planted the tree that bore the fruit — so nourishing to life — which subsequent generations plucked and ate. The time came when, worn and weary and ready for the "Well

done" which awaits faithful souls on the threshold of the life beyond, he had to lay aside his harp and sweep its chords no more; but other hands took up the instrument and touched its strings to a music which at length thrilled the hearts of his countrymen and stirred them to such high endeavor that they were enabled to achieve moral and spiritual victories not alone for themselves, but for the world. Though dead, with ashes desecrated and borne by Avon to Severn, and from Severn to the sea, this brave prophet of the Most High still maintained his hold on life, and, with a voice which no pope or potentate could hush, kept on speaking to the mind and moral sense of thoughtful Englishmen. The little candle which he lighted was a candle of the Lord, and it sent its beams afar. It is but a blind eye which can look on the Puritan and not see Wycliffe behind him.

The direct endeavors of Wycliffe were greatly reinforced, and his personal influence was vastly extended by the bands of preachers, known as Lollards, who went forth to emphasize the truths which their great leader had brought out afresh from the Word of God, and to advocate the reforms which he had set in motion. These strolling "mumblers," "clad," as another has described them, "in long robes of coarse red wool, barefoot, with pilgrim staff in hand," going up and down, "setting forth the Word of God wherever they could find listeners," distributing hand-copied "passages from Wycliffe's tracts and texts from the Bible among tradesmen and artisans, yeomen and plough-boys, to be pondered over and talked about and learned by heart," made a deep and lasting impression on large numbers of the common people. They were not men of the schools, but they were men with a message, and their words set sensible people to pondering, to looking about, to asking questions, and to reaching conclusions which meant sooner or later a better condition of things in church and state. They popularized the teachings of Wycliffe. They stamped the truths which he uttered into the minds of the more thoughtful in the communities in which they labored in a fashion to make them the heritage of succeeding generations. Where these preachers went, and were in a measure wel-

comed, later reformers found the soil prepared for their sowing.

This is the view commonly held by all well-informed writers on the subject. The late Dr. Mackennal, in his exceedingly interesting and instructive little book on "English Separatism," says that the counties over which the influence of Lollardy extended are almost exactly the counties in which martyrs suffered under Mary. He says further that these "were the counties where Puritanism was subsequently strong," and that the "Home counties, with Suffolk and Norfolk, where the martyr-roll is most crowded, are the counties where Separatism had its origin." Maps have been published which make good this claim and show clearly the coincidence of the boundaries which mark the sowing of the Wycliffe ideas and the reaping of Puritan convictions and deeds.

II

The Bible, too, given to the people in their own tongue, first in parts and then in its entirety, by those worthy successors of Wycliffe, Coverdale and Tyndale, had a subtle but very effective influence in shaping and forcing the issue which resulted in the advanced Protestantism of the out-and-out Puritan.

The great writers who have had to do with the development of letters in the nation have not failed to recognize the formative influence of the English Bible on English literature. John Fiske has an illuminating passage on the value to the people at that particular period in the history of the country of the "most original and noble literature" which was unfolded to them in the translations of the Scriptures into the English tongue. "At a time when there was yet no English literature for the common people, this untold wealth of Hebrew literature was implanted in the English mind as in virgin soil." Our author is right in adding that it was a matter of vast consequence "that the first truly popular literature in England — the first which stirred the hearts of all classes of people, and filled

their minds with ideal pictures and their every-day speech with apt and telling phrases — was the literature comprised within the Bible." "To the Englishmen who listened to Latimer, to the Scotchmen who listened to Knox, the Bible more than filled the place which in modern times is filled by poem and song, by novel and newspaper and scientific treatise."

But the Bible brought within the reach of the people did more than create a taste and furnish inspiration for a matchless literature. It became a system of practical ethics. Men discovered in it an authoritative standard of right conduct. It was a revelation from God, and reading it, the more devout and earnest souls felt that they were catching the accents of a divine voice. It was not thought alone which was touched and quickened, it was life. Literature, it may be said again, is a potent factor in shaping the character of any people. A high-toned literature helps very greatly to make a high-toned nation. Still, incalculable as was the value to literature of the Bible, rendered into their mother-tongue and made easily accessible through the translations of Coverdale and Tyndale — successful workers in the same fertile field — its value to the English people as a regenerating moral and spiritual force was yet greater. At once it became a vital and uplifting power. Men were taken back in their thoughts to the divine image in which they were created, and given a fresh sense of the rights and privileges of the individual as well as new notions of the duties and obligations of lawmakers and rulers. With the Bible open to everybody who cared to read it, or who could be induced to read it, the old conditions were no longer possible. There was then, as there is now and always, a silent but tremendous transforming energy in an open Bible.

An open Bible is a risen sun, and the potency and promise of an expanding intelligence are in its beams. An open Bible is a proclamation of liberty; and men who read it will become more and more impatient of all restraints imposed on conscience and the free exercise of natural rights. Tyrants who wish to be secure in the practise of tyranny

do well to withhold the Bible from the hands of their outraged subjects. Oppressors who find their pleasure and profit in grinding the faces of the poor are wise with the wisdom of their kind in keeping the Bible a closed book. Unlike Tyndale, who went through the sharp pains of martyrdom, Coverdale died in peace; but the open Bible, distrusted and opposed as it was by so many who ought to have been its advocates, survived and kept on its way with an energy that was irresistible.

III

There were still other influences at work toward the same end. Some of these, coming in from the outside and blending with those which had a home origin, were exceedingly effective in the making of the Puritan, and after him the Nonconformist, the Separatist, and the Pilgrim.

Incoming of Dutch artisans Dr. Griffis is surely right in his strenuous contention that reform ideas, in one fashion and another, were imported from across the North Sea into the more northern, the middle eastern, and the southern counties of England, and were potent factors in determining the events which followed. Not so early, not so subtle, not so pervasive as the influences which proceeded from the Oxford Reformer and those who entered into the sacred inheritance of his thought and aim, yet the influences which came to the shores of England from Holland were not only timely but to an eminent degree helpful.

For one thing there was a free intermingling of Dutch and English during those years which more immediately preceded the definite solidifying of Puritan sentiment which was immensely effective in stimulating thought and shaping opinion. Dr. Griffis condenses the facts into a single paragraph when he says: "With ten thousand English, Welsh, Irish, and Scottish soldiers, fighting under the red, white, and blue flag of the republic; thousands of British contractors, merchants, traders, and agents in the Low Countries, and a hundred thousand Netherlanders, mostly educated people and skilled workmen, in the British Isles, relations

between England and Holland were close and varied." One can see at a glance that it could not be otherwise.

Referring to this same line of facts Professor Williston Walker says: "These radical English efforts for a complete reformation had their chief support in the Eastern Counties, especially in the vicinity of Norwich and London. These regions had long been the recipient of Dutch immigration; and the influx from the Netherlands had vastly increased during the early reign of Elizabeth, owing to the tyranny of Philip II. In 1562 the Dutch and Walloons settled in England numbered 30,000. By 1568 some 5225 of the people of London were of this immigration; and by 1587 they constituted more than half of the population of Norwich, while they were largely present in other coast towns."

Elizabeth made the relation between these foreigners and her own people still more close than it might have been otherwise by requiring each Netherland family "to take an English apprentice, so that the country might immediately get the benefit of continental superiority in science, art and handicraft."

Many of these cunning artisans, it is fair to presume, entertained advanced views on the question of freedom in church and state. Close association with them would have no inconsiderable force in shaping the aspirations and aims of men whose leanings were in the direction of notions quite other than those held by subservient secretaries and time-serving prelates. Minds ripe for change could not help being hurried to their conclusions, or, if their conclusions had been already reached, confirmed in them by this intimate intercourse with people who were from the other side of the German Ocean, and who had experienced all the bitterness and pain of an inquisitorial persecution. At the loom, by the bench, and in the foundry, within the narrow homes where manufacturing was carried on, there must have been many simple conversations on the same high topics which engaged Luther's attention and of which Calvin wrote and Milton was to sing.

IV

But in the course of time there was something more than this. When these eastern and southern county Englishmen lifted their eyes and looked beyond the North Sea into the Netherlands they saw sights to stir the blood and kindle the soul into a blaze of enthusiasm. So soon as the bigoted and cruel Spaniard had been brought to halt by the indomitable courage and heroic obstinacy of the freedom-loving Dutch, or from the latter part of the sixteenth century onward, Holland granted toleration — not the widest, but enough for all practical purposes — to the different sects within her borders. Examples were also afforded, especially by the Anabaptists, of churches governing themselves and settling policies and aims to suit their own ideas of rights and duties and to meet the needs of the hour.

As to Anabaptist influence in shaping the ideas of early English Congregationalists, Professor Walker does not appear to be willing to go so far as some others go and yet he does not hesitate to make this statement: "Among the workmen of Holland Anabaptist views were widely disseminated, and while it would be unjustifiable to claim that these exiles on English soil were chiefly, or largely, Anabaptists, there were Anabaptists among them, and an Anabaptist way of thinking may not improbably have been widely induced among those who may have been entirely unconscious of the source from which their impulse came. Certainly the resemblances between the Anabaptist movements on the Continent and English Congregationalism in theories of church polity, and the geographical possibilities of contact between the two, are sufficiently manifest to make a denial of relationship exceedingly difficult."

In that land, too, a man might think aloud. If he chose to do so he might put his thoughts into tracts and books. It was a land of the free as well as a home of the brave. To intelligent, sincere, and earnest onlookers, only a short distance away, who were disloyal neither to king nor country.

nor religion, but who wished simply to be permitted to think their own thoughts, to be faithful to their own best conceptions of truth and service, to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and without let or hindrance to publish and exchange views on the compelling themes of God and man, of duty and destiny, and whatever else has to do with human welfare, what must all this have meant? The question answers itself. Englishmen of the worthier sort, observing this condition of things, must have felt like captives, closely confined and breathing the foul air of a prison, while their more fortunate fellows were out in the open sunshine with liberty to come and go at will. Holland was a school in which men of bright minds like Brewster, whether going there as he did, or not, would learn much and fast. The laws and institutions of Holland were an object-lesson in civil and religious liberty; and the English were not few who were instructed by the great and obvious teaching.

V

Divine in-
fluences
abroad

It must not be forgotten, moreover, that this whole movement which resulted first in the Puritan, and later in the Pilgrim, was under a providential guidance. With the penetration and grasp of a true prophet, Lowell sings:

"We see but half the causes of our deeds,
Seeking them wholly in the outer life,
And heedless of the encircling spirit-world
Which, though unseen, is felt, and sows in us
All germs of pure and world-wide purposes."

The Spirit of God brooded over the minds of these men as over the old chaos, and gave form to their thought and direction to their aims. Their eyes were focused on the advancing dawn, and beams of the new day were poured in upon their minds. The Scriptures were illuminated to their understanding, and they came to know the things of life and duty at first hand. They had clear vision because they had open vision, and saw things in the "light of the

knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." They had stout hearts because they were inwardly girded by the Almighty. Abraham and the people whom he organized into a nation can be explained only by a call whispered from on high. We shall never comprehend Moses and the work of emancipation which he accomplished until we interpret him by the burning bush. Paul is a riddle which no man can guess until proper significance is attached to the splendor which smote him to the earth and the Voice which spoke to him there at the gate of Damascus. The Pilgrim caught his deepest and finest inspiration from God; and the key which unlocks and exposes the secret of what he was and what he did is the complete way in which he allowed the Spirit to enter all the chambers of his soul and direct and dominate his life.

VI

Along with the forces and influences here specified, or rather including both them and many others, there was a temper of the times, slowly but surely emerging out of all the passionate longings and confused wrestling of the period, which was in ill accord with the old traditions and usages, and which clearly foretold a new order of things. There was "the sound of marching in the tops of the mulberry-trees" which indicated the approach of a host to be reckoned with by the enemies of truth and righteousness and a conflict which should shake the land. Oliver Cromwell had not yet come in sight, but he was near at hand, and the obstinate Stuart dynasty which had inherited the fatal legacy of lust of dominion and "divine right of kings" from the past was to topple to its fall. The songs of Chaucer, as well as the sermons of Wycliffe, long dormant and for a hundred years apparently forgotten, were recurring with a fresh energy to the minds of men, and "the brawney hunt-loving monk," "the wanton friar," "the pardoner with his wallet 'bret full of pardons, come from Rome all hot,'" were losing caste in the public estimation.

It was only natural that restlessness among the people and opposition to the insufferable conditions then existing should be more pronounced with reference to ecclesiastical misrule and oppression than with reference to civil tyranny. There had been democracy in Greece, and Rome was once a republic in name, and central and western Europe had known free cities, and a commonwealth fed and fostered by the bracing air of Switzerland had sprung up in the later times at Geneva; but a search of the centuries revealed no great and commanding examples of civil affairs directed by the people and for the people. There had been eminently wise and patriotic heads of nations, like Alfred and Charlemagne, though the achievements of these men and their contributions to an enduring civilization were not so well known in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as now; but there were no illustrious sovereigns who had been made sovereigns by the free and intelligent choice of their subjects, and who, thus chosen, had administered public affairs solely in the interest of their subjects, to whom it was possible to point in the assurance that their just and beneficent reigns would stand out in marked contrast to the prevailing customs of kings and emperors.

But so soon as the Bible was placed within reach of the people, and men began to read and weigh its statements for themselves, it was seen how wide had been the departure in the management of ecclesiastical affairs from the primitive ideas and methods. What a gulf of difference the comparison revealed between selfish and unholy priests, between bishops and archbishops and popes with their greeds and ambitious and countless political intrigues, and the divine Master, surrounded and followed by the apostles whom he called about him and sent out to do his work! How unlike in its spirit and rules and aims had the Church of the later times come to be to the Church of the early times! Peter and Paul and James and John were not stall-fed bishops; and though they spoke with authority they did not attempt to lord it over God's heritage. There came to be a conviction, wide-spread, deep-seated, and which was all the time increasing in intensity, that reform, even in spheres where some measure of reform had been effected, was still de-

manded and must be made more radical and thoroughgoing. The high business in which Wycliffe and Huss and Luther engaged had not been carried on to completeness; and so long, on the one hand, as liberty of conscience was denied to sincere and devout souls, and so long, on the other hand, as the men who held ecclesiastical positions were so ignorant and stupid that they could not teach, or were so extortionate and shamelessly corrupt that their lives were a cruel mockery of the faith which they avowed and a sore hindrance to the advance of Christianity, agitation must be kept up and aggressive movements continued and vital issues forced.

At the same time the prevailing discontent was not confined to religious circles, nor did it all originate with men who wanted a better chance to show their loyalty to Jesus Christ in worship and in work. The charter obtained from King John at Runnymede was not only an inspiring memory but a living fact. Down to the reign of Henry VI, that great instrument of liberty had been confirmed thirty-seven times. Its three leading provisions — that no freeman should be arraigned and imprisoned except in accordance with custom or the law of the realm, that justice was neither to be sold nor withheld, and that taxes were to be imposed only by the consent and authority of Parliament — in the thought of the most intelligent and patriotic and freedom-loving of the people had become foundation-stones of the civil structure of the English nation. Man in the dignity and power of his simple manhood was moving to the front. The rights of man were acquiring new recognition and sacredness. The terrific struggle which had taken place in Holland was a thought-breeder, and in elect souls throughout Europe it kindled new or revived old aspirations for freedom and self-government.

Hence the restlessness and discontent in both church and state, and the launching of the controversy, which had its origin in the religious dissatisfaction and aspiration of the people, into the surging sea of national politics. At bottom the question of Puritanism was spiritual and ecclesiastical; but because of the organic relation of church and state in England it had to be wrought out and settled in the arena

of party controversy. There was no wit or force to arrest the conflict. The hour was ripe for a radical change in the management of ecclesiastical and civil affairs alike, and a step forward was necessary to the peace and prosperity of the English nation and the progress of mankind.

II

PERSECUTION A FACTOR IN MAKING THE PILGRIMS

It seems to be a law of human nature that no evil is arrested till it becomes unbearable. — CHARLES W. ELLIOTT.

O foolish people, ye that think to burn
And to consume the truth of God, I tell you
That every flame is a loud tongue of fire
To publish it abroad to all the world
Louder than tongues of men. — HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

This is the secret of the opposition of the English Church to Puritanism and Independence. The Church, like that of Rome, had virtually assumed its own infallibility. . . . It had interwoven the hierarchy with the whole temporal Constitution of the realm. And the test of loyalty was undeviating conformity to the canons of the Church and implicit obedience to the mandates of the crown. — JOHN STETSON BARRY.

By no artifice of ingenuity can the stigma of persecution, the worst blemish of the English Church, be effaced or patched over. Her doctrines, we well know, do not tend to intolerance. She admits the possibility of salvation out of her own pale. But this circumstance, in itself honorable to her, aggravates the sin and the shame of those who persecuted in her name. — THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY.

Few people are wise enough to learn the economic value of justice.
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

So shall the world go on,
To good malignant, to bad men benign;
Under her own weight groaning; till the day
Appear of respiration to the just
And vengeance to the wicked. — JOHN MILTON.

II

PERSECUTION A FACTOR IN MAKING THE PILGRIMS

THE story of the making of the Pilgrims is yet to be told. For what has gone before has to do simply with the diffusion of the knowledge which would enable men to proceed intelligently with the presentation of motives to right and courageous action, and the blazing of a path through the tangled thickets of superstition and routine and corruption and every form of tyranny and injustice, out into the open world of truth and freedom. At the risk of walking along avenues which will need to be retrodden, and saying things which will have to be said over again, we must pause here long enough to get a true historical setting for our narrative, and a clear understanding of the exact points in dispute and the real causes which led up to the fierce conflict between Conformity and Dissent and issued in the Pilgrims in America.

I

The Reformation in England, it needs to be kept in mind, was of a double nature. It was a religious reformation, and it was a political reformation. The movement to improve the condition of things in the religious world began, as we have seen, with Wycliffe, about two centuries before Luther.

Nature of the Reformation in England The movement to sever the government of England from the domination of the papal power took form and was pushed forward to a victorious consummation, under Henry VIII. The measures adopted by Henry were followed up and confirmed by Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth.

It will be recalled that Henry VIII, after his break with Pope Clement VII over the question of his divorce from Catherine of Aragon and his marriage to Anne Boleyn, persuaded Parliament to permit him to declare himself the head of the national church. Mary, who, on her accession to sovereignty, did her best to undo and reverse what her father Henry and her brother Edward had done for the advance of Protestantism, secured the repeal of the measure her father had induced Parliament to enact.

Concerning this repeal, however, Hallam, in his "Constitutional History," significantly remarks: "Her Parliament, so obsequious in all matters of religion, adhered with a firm grasp to the possession of the church lands; nor could the papal supremacy be reestablished until a sanction was given to their enjoyment." The pope at Rome might have his way once more, if Mary had set her heart on restoring to him this privilege, in matters of faith and ceremony; but lands which had been confiscated from ecclesiastical ownership, and turned over to the possession of the English aristocracy, were quite another matter; and it would not do for Parliament to attempt to disturb rights so sacred! When was a genuine Britisher, whether under one flag or another, ever known willingly to give up a square foot of mother earth? Besides, these confiscated monastery lands comprised not less than one-fifth of the whole area of the realm.

But as parliaments in those days, save in interests which touched the pockets of the members, were little more than instruments for registering the sovereign's will, Elizabeth easily constrained her lawmakers to reenact the statute of Henry. The authority in church matters previously vested in the pope was now vested in the queen. The queen was head of the church, and her power in all that concerned the church was well-nigh limitless.

As Dr. Bacon has stated in substance, all the great ecclesiastical dignities and thousands of the humbler benefices were at the disposal of the government. The people, except in a few anomalous instances, were denied any voice in the appointment of their parish ministers. There could be no synod or convocation, general or diocesan, with a lay

representation, to regulate matters of common interest. Convocations, even of the clergy, could assemble only at the command of the sovereign. When assembled, these convocations could engage in business only under the sovereign's particular warrant.

It will not take long to see that the only advantage the church, or rather, to speak more accurately, the Christian people of the land, had under the new condition of things over the old, was a pope near at hand, and not far away as at Rome, and a chance to fight their battles for religious freedom and the sacred rights of conscience on their own ground and under their own cherished flag.

II

The outcome was just what might have been anticipated. Here were the conditions of inevitable discontent and vigorous protest. Discontent arose and protests were uttered. With self-respect enough and vitality enough in the church to hold it together, and keep it in any sort of mood for bearing witness to the faith and pushing any kind of religious activity, there would be sure to be some voices to cry out against the woful lack of spirituality, and the perversion of religious belief and the whole machinery of a great religious organization to the ends of secular ambition.

In this instance the voices were clear and loud. It was not enough that the visible head of the church should be changed, and that men should look, not to the Roman pontiff, but to the head of the nation at Westminster, for direction in things spiritual, but they wanted the old leaven of Romish corruption, down to the last particle of it, purged out, and every trace of superstition and idolatry forever removed.

The Act of Uniformity which was passed soon after Elizabeth ascended the throne, and which established the Book of Common Prayer as the only form for the worship of God by a religious assembly, and made it an offense severely punishable for a minister to deviate from the

rubrics, gave fresh and alarming occasion for protest, and furnished a battle-cry to all adherents of Puritanism, and did much to cement them into unity. When the time had come in the estimation of the politic queen for the rigid enforcement of the Act of Uniformity, there was a spirit of resistance abroad which was just as determined that the act should not be enforced.

The Act of Uniformity was accompanied and supplemented by an Act of Supremacy. Under this law the Ecclesiastical Establishment of England was finally separated from the See of Rome, and the queen was empowered to set up a court, which came in time to be known as the "High Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical." It differed little from other inquisitions save that it was English and not Spanish, and was conducted, not by Catholics, but by Protestants.

This "High Commission" had power to make inquiries respecting heretical opinions, seditions, books, contempts, conspiracies, false rumors or talks. It might punish persons for absenting themselves from church. It could take away their livings from ministers who held doctrines contrary to the Thirty-Nine Articles. It could put suspected persons under oath and examine them. Often these examinations were conducted by a series of questions so shrewdly designed to trap their prey that Lord Burleigh, who, though prime minister of England, was not in sympathy with Whitgift, the primate and the chief agent in enforcing this statute of persecution, thought the proceeding left the inquisitors of Philip II and the whole line of popes from Paul IV to Clement VIII quite behind in cunning and malignity.

Bancroft in his splendid chapter on "The Pilgrims," speaking of what was taking place at this time under the jurisdiction of this commission, says: "Subscriptions were now required to points which before had been eluded; the kingdom rung with the complaints for deprivations; the most learned and diligent of the ministry were driven from their places; and those who were introduced to read the liturgy were so ignorant that few of them could preach. Did men listen to their deprived pastors in the recesses

of forests, the offense, if discovered, was visited with fines and imprisonments. . . . In vain did the sufferers murmur; in vain did Parliament disapprove. . . . The archbishop would have deemed forbearance a weakness; and the queen was ready to interpret any freedom in religion as a treasonable denial of her supremacy."

The simple fact is that this law of Supremacy, as interpreted and enforced by the High Commission, was a horrible despotism, and meant that no Nonconformist could have shelter for his nonconformity under the English Constitution.

III

The surprising as well as painful thing in all this is that it occurred in the reign of Elizabeth. Elizabeth was a Protestant — or at least she was popularly supposed to be. In the tremendous contest then waging in Europe all her larger interests were on the side of Protestantism. We are not astonished at anything Henry did after he had fairly begun his strange career. Mary was likewise self-consistent, and her actions were in line with what might have been anticipated. But Elizabeth's conduct grieves and shocks us. It was inhuman and it was incongruous. The more we dwell on the record the more it excites our amazement. For though a capricious piece of womanhood, and even at this late day not easily to be classified, Elizabeth was a great and distinguished queen. It is impossible to recur to the period of English history of which she was the brilliant center without experiencing a glow of enthusiasm which sets all the pulses to beating more quickly and causes the whole soul to swell with a pardonable pride.

It was the age of Shakespeare, Spenser, Bacon, Sidney, and Raleigh. Who can foresee a day so bright that some of these names will not shine like stars of the first magnitude in the firmament of English literature? It was the era of Hawkins and Drake. Nelson, Farragut, Dewey, and Togo have since plowed the seas with their mighty battle-ships, and smitten enemies with the fierceness of irresistible torna-

does, and won victories whose fame will make their names immortal; but what victories will ever be so resplendent that men will forget the glory of Cadiz in 1587, or the dauntless courage with which the Invincible Armada was met, and by the signal aid of God's providence, overthrown and destroyed in 1588?

One must go back to the age of Pericles in Athens, when every branch of industry was carried to perfection, and commerce was flourishing, and elegance and magnificence alike marked the life of the people, and the Parthenon was rising in its beauty, and Phidias and Socrates and Sophocles were dominating thought; or to the later age of Augustus in Rome, when Virgil and Horace were lighting up the world of letters with their genius and cultivation, and skilled architects were transforming a city of brick into a city of marble, and the marvelous prosperity and order of a mild tyranny were reconciling the influential classes to the loss of liberty, to find anything like a parallel to the illustrious age of Elizabeth. Rather, perhaps, one must move forward to the remarkable period of Victoria, with the swift ships and cunning looms, the forges, the electrical discoveries and appliances, and the Gladstones, Tennysons, Darwins, Livingstones, and Florence Nightingales which characterized and adorned the period, to find a suitable resemblance to the splendor of the Elizabethan era. It was a creative stage in the development of national thought and life. It was a time when the minds of the people were aflame with intense heats, and all hearts were big with resolution, and a new spirit was taking possession of the English world.

Nevertheless, through one of those perplexing inconsistencies of which, unfortunately, history reveals too many, it was under the rule of Elizabeth, the Protestant queen — and in the midst of mental activity so intense and exceptional in fruitfulness that the story of it loses none of its attractiveness by the passing of time, and when the nation was making for itself a record of imperishable renown — that the prisons of London were crowded with Protestant believers, and the public executioners were busy with rope and torch hurrying into eternity the souls of men who were

cultivated, brave, true, and loyal, and whose only offense was their earnest faith in Christ and their desire to worship God in the simplest and most direct way. When these transactions were taking place the heroic vice-admiral of England was humiliating Catholic pretensions and defeating Catholic schemes by winning his signal triumphs over the Spanish fleet. Over in the Netherlands, in a conflict which had all the nations of Europe for interested onlookers, with Philip II and the Duke of Alva on one side, and on the other the ever-famous Prince of Orange, Philip Sidney, whom the queen graciously called "the jewel of her dominions," was sacrificing his precious life in protest against Romish aggressions and in vindication of the rights of conscience. But while Drake was overcoming the forces of Catholic Spain, and Sidney was dying for the Protestant faith for which it was fondly supposed Elizabeth and her English people had come to stand, contemptible spies and ecclesiastical courts not less contemptible, and jailers and hangmen were doing all in their power to prevent men and women from coming to Christ in the spirit and after the method mapped out in the New Testament, and worshipping God and meeting the grave responsibilities of discipleship in a way to harmonize with the whisperings of the still, small voice in the soul.

For no other crime than this John Copping and Elias Thacker were confined in prison for seven years, and then executed in the quiet old town of Bury St. Edmunds. For no other crime than this Barrowe and Greenwood and Penry were put to death in London.

There were others, not publicly executed, who were just as truly martyrs to the faith. They were the men and women who were dragged from their humble homes, and shut up in "damp, vermin-haunted and fever-smitten dungeons," and compelled to remain there till their lives were slowly worn out. Dr. Dexter gives a list of twenty-five — twenty men and five women — who in this way paid the penalty of their convictions. What stories of cruellest wrong the stones of old Tyburn and Newgate could tell had they tongues!

The conflict was kept up through the entire reign of

Elizabeth, only to be continued with the same desperate determination by both sides on the accession of James I to power. The authorities were bound there should be no Separatist assemblies for worship and the study of the Scriptures and mutual edification, and the Separatists, fully assured of God's approval, were bound there should be such assemblies.

IV

How account for this strange attitude of the queen? The explanation furnished by Arber in his "Story of the Pilgrim Fathers" is the only adequate one.

Explanation of queen's strange conduct Backed by Froude, who in this instance seems to be right, he declares that Elizabeth had nothing of the Puritan in her. She was a nationalist. Quoting Froude he says: "'In her birth, she was the symbol of the revolt from Papacy. She could not reconcile herself

with Rome without condemning the marriage from which she sprung; but her interest in Protestantism was limited to political independence. . . . She would permit no authority in England which did not center in herself. The Church should be a department of the state, organized by parliament, and ruled by the national tribunals. . . . There should be no conventicles and no chapels to be the nurseries of sedition.'"

Other considerations brought forward by Arber are illuminating and furnish clues to the mystery of the queen's conduct.

To begin with, three-fourths of her subjects were Roman Catholics. Out of the almost five millions of people who made up the population of her realm, less than a million and a quarter had broken with the church of which the pope at Rome was the acknowledged head and exponent. This was enough to put any Protestant ruler, though thoroughly sincere and earnest, at a serious disadvantage. A ruler so wary, and in many respects so unscrupulous, as this most brilliant of all the sovereigns who have occupied the British throne from Alfred to Edward VII, would find

in this unequal division of her people on the lines of faith abundant occasion for political trimming, and for much that was more heinous than mere adroitness.

In addition to this, Elizabeth had living illustration close at hand of what must have seemed to her the fatal consequences of allowing religion to become the basis of internal dissensions in her kingdom.

In France, the Huguenots, instead of being suppressed at the outset and rendered harmless by annihilation, were permitted to grow into a political power as well as a theological and church party, and thus to threaten the stability of the government and the harmony of the state. This unwise toleration, as she no doubt thought it, had fostered sectarian antagonisms and civil feuds, had drenched the land in blood, had arrested industry and checked the flow of prosperity and the accumulation of wealth, and in every way had detracted from the happiness and welfare of the people and the dignity and power of the throne. In her dominions, if she could help it, there was to be no repetition of this French folly. Wheels within wheels were no part of her idea of government.

The Netherlands presented the same warning spectacle. Under one flag there were two hostile camps. It was Protestant against Catholic and Catholic against Protestant. Not only was the power of the nation weakened, but the unity of the nation as well; and every great national interest was put in jeopardy by these religious factions.

England must be kept clear of the peril of a divided church. She was the head of the church, and her headship must be recognized, and there must be no departure from uniformity in the public worship of God.

Over and above all else — the most weighty reason, in all likelihood, for the course she pursued — is the fact that Elizabeth was constrained by circumstances to have Spain evermore in her mind. At no time could she forget that the little "Sea-Girt Isle," over whose destinies she presided, had a tremendous rival and an enemy of well-nigh irresistible force right at her doors. At no time could she forget that this enemy, many-eyed and hundred-handed, was watching every movement England made, and stood ready

at the first opportune moment to batter down her walls and overrun her territory and despoil her wealth and glory. The ambition of Spain was boundless. It was the desire of her kings to become sole masters of the Western world. Only England and the Netherlands could thwart this scheme of wide and irresponsible sovereignty and prevent one of the worst calamities which could have befallen modern civilization and the progress of the race. Whatever she did or left undone, Elizabeth felt that she must throw herself with all her skill and resources across the path of these aggressive Spanish monarchs. She must outwit them in their cunning wiles and outfight them in any battles they might see fit to wage. How successful she was all the world knows, and will keep in memory to the end of time.

These facts explain — in some measure they palliate — the cruel deeds done by the queen in her dealing with Dissenters. They serve to mitigate the severity of our condemnation. Her procedure was not wise. Injustice is never wise. There were other ways besides torturing and hanging Protestant subjects by which she could have held the nation loyal to her authority. The policy she pursued meant sooner or later an Oliver Cromwell and a Charles without a head. After all, Elizabeth, like the Pilgrims and the Puritans, is to be judged by the standards of her own age, and not by those of our age, and by the conditions under which she reigned.

V

But persecution could not arrest the conclusions of reason, or stifle the convictions of conscience. Men who think for themselves will by and by act for themselves. Over against this background of bigotry and oppression and hate, and all that the Henrys and Marys and Elizabeths and Jameses could do to stay the march of events and keep the moral sense in subordination to arbitrary power, we have the magnificent story of Separatism. Under this severe discipline of fire and blood heroic souls emerged,

and feeble and harassed groups of disciples grew into strong bodies of Independents with force enough in them to make their influence for learning and righteousness, both in home and foreign lands, a distinguishable and potent factor in the best civilization of this modern era. The Pilgrim was the joint product of the cruel injustice and the high aspirations of his time. Faith in God and a well-developed and vigorous moral sense on the one side, and an over liberal supply of persecution by Tudors and Stuarts on the other, called forth the Pilgrim and made him the superb type of man he came to be. He is one of the best of the many examples in history of

"The mystic harmony of right and wrong,
Both working out His wisdom and our good."

In church and state alike there was call for him, and bad men turned in and helped produce him. Counted insignificant by many, disdained and despised by those high in authority, he was yet the hinge on which mighty events were to turn. Society had reached a point in its progress where his services were to have a unique and enduring value; and tyrants became his unwitting instructors, that he might the better learn how to build institutions which should be to the everlasting glory of God and the permanent welfare of humanity.

III

THE PIONEERS OF THE PILGRIMS

Men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. — THE BOOK OF ACTS.

There may have been others, but looking back through the dim mists of time, the earliest pioneers of independent thought we come upon on English soil are thirty weavers in the diocese of Worcester, who were summoned before the council of Oxford as far back as A. D. 1165. — JOHN BROWN.

Those who gave earliest notice, as the lark
Sings from the ground the morn to gratulate;
Who rather rose the day to antedate,
By striking out a solitary spark,
When all the world with midnight gloom was dark.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH.

It was the glory of the Separatists that they had a vision of another state of things, and struck out a new path, pronounced of course by all the lovers of the old, to be revolutionary and dangerous. Dangerous it was not, except in the sense in which liberty of every kind has its perils, but revolutionary it undoubtedly was. The Separatists broke loose by one strong effort of faith from all the restraints of antiquity and tradition. They were as revolutionary as the men who framed the Constitution of the United States. Where would the world be if it had not had from time to time men who have dared to work out revolutions? — J. GUINNESS ROGERS.

Not for their hearts and homes alone,
But for the world their work was done;
On all the winds their thought has flown
Through all the circuits of the sun.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Come out, then, from the old thoughts and old ways,
Before you harden to a crystal cold,
Which the new life can shatter, but not mould;
Freedom for you still waits, still, looking backward, stays,
But widens still the irretrievable space.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

III

THE PIONEERS OF THE PILGRIMS

IN coasting along the shores of the section of history now engaging our attention three prominent headlands appear in three men who had marked share in quickening Puritan conceptions and aspirations, and in fixing the grounds on which the great and inevitable struggle for further reformation in religion should be fought out. These three outstanding men also illustrate the courage and cost required to carry the conflict through to a successful issue. Or, to change the figure to one more common to our thought, it may be said that this movement, which was first Puritan and later Pilgrim, had three distinct and distinguished pioneers.

I

Of these three the leading name is John Hooper. By some of our writers Hooper is considered to have been the first Puritan. Whether he was or not is immaterial. The things he stood for, and for which he died, make him a conspicuous figure in the momentous controversy for the emancipation of religion from superstition and selfishness, and impart to his services a peculiar value. Whatever place is assigned to him in the glorious succession of open-visioned men and martyrs to the truth he will hardly be too much honored.

Hooper was born in Somersetshire about 1495. It was a stirring time in which to begin life. Columbus had made the discovery of America only three years before. Henry VIII was his senior by barely four years. Martin Luther, across in Germany, was a lad of fourteen. Leo X, down

in Italy, though already a cardinal, was a youth of little more than twenty. Resolute spirits these, and the sure prophecies of no little excitement and overturning in the near future. The air, both in England and on the continent, was charged with electricity. It would not be long before lightnings would flash along the sky and the earth shake with the rumble of approaching thunder.

Hooper studied at Oxford; but he was forced to escape to foreign lands on account of his sympathies with new ideas and movements. The battle had begun. The clatter of onset near at hand and the dull roar of the distant cannonade were reaching his ear. To him, however, these ominous reverberations were not so much the sound of war as the rustling of the wings of the angels who were heralding a fresh dawn to the world. Hence he could not withhold expressions of approval and demonstrations of gladness. Such expressions and demonstrations were intolerable to the reigning powers. His safety lay in flight. In the expectation that with the passing of Henry there would be an end of persecution, he returned to England. In 1550, under Edward VI, he was made bishop of Gloucester. Subsequently he was appointed bishop of Worcester as well. Five years later, in the crusade of murder for opinion's sake, set on foot by Mary Tudor, he was burned at the stake. Thus he was gathered into what we now know as the glorious fellowship of Rogers, Taylor, and Ferrar, of Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, and made one of the cherished immortals of history.

Hooper was not a Separatist. In the times of storm and stress which had come upon the people of God, he encouraged the nourishing of spiritual life in the hearts of believers by what we should call prayer and conference meetings, though these had to be held in secret; but he never advised action which looked toward a sharp and final breaking away from the church in which he and others of like mind had their membership. But he was positive and firm in his Puritanism, as is made evident by the surrender of his life in devotion to Puritan principles. It was only a matter of vestments at which he hesitated; but these vestments in what they represented, like the flag of a country,

involved the whole question in controversy. In the protest he uttered, and finally sealed with his blood, he showed clearly that the civil and ecclesiastical authorities had forced an "irrepressible conflict" upon the people, and that there was no alternative but to fight it out to the bitter end. His death interpreted the situation, and from the moment of his death good and brave men knew there must be no flinching.

II

Thomas Cartwright is the second of the three men who were turning-points in the mighty struggle. He was forty years younger than Hooper, but he was old enough when Hooper ascended through flame into glory to have caught the full significance of his death, and to have felt the thrill of it in every pulse of his being.

Cartwright was born at a place not definitely located in Hertfordshire in 1535. He was evidently a boy of unusual promise, and at an early age began his studies at Cambridge; but his life was launched on a tempestuous sea, and from the beginning to the end of his voyaging he was the victim of the wild tossings to which the changing winds and cross-currents of his times would inevitably expose him. A bright scholar, a popular professor, a vigorous thinker, a skilful debater, and an influential leader, he was never safe in his place, nor long at ease. He was now here and now there; at one and another stage of his career in high favor at the university of his choice and love, at subsequent or intervening stages a refugee on the continent, or sheltered from the assaults of his enemies under the wing of eminent officials, but always in the thick of the fight. Had he been a man of small mind, or of conservative temperament, or of cool, calculating disposition, he might have got on, as multitudes of others did, and been counted remarkably successful and happy. But this was not his type. He had a large brain. He was progressive in his instincts and aspirations. While positive in his opinions, and intent on having his own way for the reason that having thought

things through, as he supposed, his own way very naturally seemed to him to be the best way, he was yet capable of disinterested action. If he failed to maintain this character to the end, it is to be remembered that, like the rest of us, he was human.

Cartwright's merit is that in a few clear and simple words he laid down the platform on which the reforming party stood. He brought things to a point and enabled all men to see what was the real and vital question at issue. He did for both sides in the controversy what Abraham Lincoln did for the country at large when he declared that the nation could not exist half slave and half free. He exposed the quivering nerve of the situation, and showed exactly along what lines the contest must be waged. He took the struggle out of the air and gave it definite outlining and location. Dr. Dexter says: "To Thomas Cartwright must clearly be assigned the chiefest place in bringing Puritanism in England to the dignity of a developed system." Another author in speaking of him writes: "Although wanting in the judgment and self-command essential to the leader of opinion and of party, he gave system and method to the Puritanism of his day and must be regarded as its most influential teacher during his lifetime."

What was the platform announced by Cartwright? In substance it was that the churches have rights in the matter of self-regulation and in the choice of ministers which no outside authority may override; and that ministers properly chosen and set apart to their work are to be teachers and helpers and not lords over God's heritage. He wanted to reduce ecclesiastical affairs to the simplicity of the early days of the church, and to abolish archbishops and archdeacons with all that their names implied. His ideas of church government were those which he had been taught at Geneva, and which prevailed in Holland and Scotland.

Hooper, as we have seen, did not get over from Puritanism into Separatism, though he gave his life in testimony of his appreciation of a pure church. So Cartwright halted this side of Independency. He recognized the rights of the people, but he was not prepared to entrust to local

churches the entire management of their own affairs. The autonomy of individual churches was something from which he shrank. He was unable to break with the illusion that there must be some sort of vital and organic relationship between the church and the nation. He would have kept the church a national institution and under some measure of civil authority, but he would have Presbyterianized it. As has been well said: "His ideal in relation to church discipline and organization was essentially Presbyterian; and this in direct conjunction with the civil power. That he would have been willing to recognize any other form of church government as lawful, or even entitled to toleration, we find no evidence."

Be it so, he is not the first reformer, nor the last, who builded better than he knew. If he advocated a system of government for the churches which many of his original followers could not accept, he yet lifted up a banner which all eyes could see, and inscribed upon it a motto which all intelligent people could read and understand. He made the point of contention so plain and at the same time so imperative that from the hour of his correspondence with Whitgift men knew precisely where they were and what was the end in view. If his followers outran their leader, it was still their leader who gave them inspiration and direction, and indicated their true goal. If he was disposed to wait for reform until it should come through the intervention of government rather than through individual initiative and the formation of independent bodies of believers, it is not to be forgotten that in a memorable and masterly fashion he gave intellectual alignment to the forces which were to fight and win the coming battle. When Puritans were asked to state the grounds of their contention, and what would satisfy them, they had only to point to the platform laid down for them by the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. For this invaluable service Thomas Cartwright is fairly entitled to the everlasting gratitude of all free churches throughout the world.

III

The third name in our list is Robert Browne. He was a native of Tolethorp, Rutlandshire, and the time of his birth is given as near 1550. He was of good stock. Facts gathered by Dr. Dexter show that for many generations back his ancestors were men of wealth and standing. His grandfather, Francis Browne, "received, by special charter from Henry VIII, the somewhat extraordinary distinction of being allowed to remain covered in presence of the King, and of all lords spiritual and temporal in the realm." His mother, Dorothy Boteler, was of gentle blood. His brother Philip "was surveyor of Queen Elizabeth's manors in Lincolnshire." Lord Burleigh, who befriended him so effectively in his hour of sore straits, was his kinsman. Like Cartwright, he was a youth of excellent parts, and there was every reason to expect that, coming to maturity, he would be a man of power and influence. At the age of twenty, if inferences and conjectures are correct, he entered Cambridge, and in all probability he was a regular graduate from Corpus Christi College.

In due time he became a minister; but with the attempt to induct him into his office and keep him within proper conservative bounds the trouble began. With an eye to see clearly and a mind naturally vigorous and trained to accurate thinking, fully alive to the errors and corruption everywhere in evidence, resolute, impulsive, he had the courage of his convictions. Such men are very sure to be heard from when there are burning questions to be settled and grievous wrongs to be righted. The agitators and reformers, especially Cartwright, had not been without a large measure of success in their work at the university, and when Browne appeared upon the scene Cambridge was a hotbed of progressive ideas. There was enough conservatism to create friction; but things evil, though entrenched in tradition and law alike, were fiercely challenged. Browne spoke out, and neither harsh dealings nor kindly

treatment, neither the threats of those whose positions he assailed nor the entreaties of his friends, could silence him. Reform was a fire in his bones, and he had to be true to the duty he felt.

But the story of Browne is a mixed and sad one. There are few Congregationalists who do not wish it other than it is.

For our present purposes, however, it is unnecessary to give anything more than a brief outline of his strange and pathetic record. As we have seen, he was a student at Cambridge for several years subsequent to 1570. Having left college, he was a teacher for three years in Southwark, a district of London. After this, for a short and indefinite period, he was a dweller once more under the roof of his father's home. A little later he was back again at the university for the further prosecution of his studies in theology. For about six months, following this second return to Cambridge, he was a vigorous, laborious, and popular preacher in one of the Cambridge pulpits.

Some time in 1580, or when he was thirty years of age and in the prime of his early manhood, he went to Norwich. A report had reached his ear that in this old Roman town there was a group of people who were intent on improvement in existing religious conditions, and he wanted to see them, compare notes with them, and make observation of their manner of life. Being on the ground, and accrediting himself to them by his ability and determination, he became the accepted leader of these people. He organized them into a church on the simple Congregational basis. He labored at Bury St. Edmunds also, and possibly at other places in the region.

A year or so afterward he led this Norwich flock over the sea to Middleberg in Zeeland. There he spent his time in ministering to them and in writing on matters of vital concern. At the end of a couple of years devoted to this kind of effort, and when the elements of the little church were found to be incongruous, and irreconcilable differences of a serious sort had made their appearance, he left Zeeland for Scotland. In this wide parish to which John Knox had ministered so long and so effectually, and from which he

had but recently ascended into the open presence of his Lord, he became a restless declaimer of disturbing opinions and a thorn in the side of Presbyterianism. Not far from 1586, he made his way to England again, and having passed through various experiences at the hands of both friends and foes, he turned his back on himself and his followers, recanted and disowned his brave opinions, and, humiliated and trembling under the excommunication of the bishop of Peterborough, returned in an almost abject submissiveness to the fold of the church in which he had found so much error and corruption, and which he had denounced so unsparingly.

After this most surprising change of attitude, he lived on, a teacher for a brief season, and then an inconspicuous rector of an insignificant parish, but an agitator effectually silenced, for forty weary years. The end came at Northampton, about ten years after the Pilgrims had landed at Plymouth Rock. His grave no man knoweth unto this day.

These are the characters in which he figured; these are the stages in the course which he ran; these are the outlines of his life, from the hour when he emerged to public view and took up what he conceived to be his work in the world till death came to his release and the relief of those to whom he had long been a humiliating and anxious burden.

It was a well-nigh incredible life for any man to have lived. It opened with splendid displays of clear seeing and courage. It was marked by eminent service to the cause of pure and undefiled religion. It bid fair at one time to be a life which, for its earnestness, its consistency, its superb heroism and high devotion, would win and hold the admiration of the centuries. Its ending was weak and pitiable.

It is not uncommon for a radical in the course of events to become a conservative. Experience in trying to bring about reforms in church and state not unfrequently tones down, if it does not wholly destroy, enthusiasm for reform. It takes a man of indomitable pluck and entire consecration to stand up and go straight on in face of the discouragements sure to be encountered in efforts to advance society.

But here was a reversal of view and aim so end for end

and a collapse so utter that it seems not only mysterious but ignominious. Like old Gonzalo's commonwealth in Shakespeare's "Tempest," the latter end of his life altogether forgot the beginning. Browne was a radical of the most radical type, but his final surrender to the very authorities he had repudiated and denounced was so surprising that it suggests a cowed braggart or an athlete out of whom all spirit has been taken.

It is no wonder that a personality like this has been found perplexing to students of history. The case presents a nut for the psychologists to crack, or rather, it may be, for the alienists. It is no wonder that self-respecting believers used to be a bit chagrined when called by his name, and vigorously insisted on some less compromising designation. It is no wonder that members of the Congregational fellowship, even in our day, find it hard to conquer their prejudices and entertain anything like reasonable respect for a leader who brought his career to a close with such an ignoble anticlimax.

Dr. Mackennal, in a paragraph in which he deals with him, breaks out somewhat impatiently and says: "Let me frankly confess — I do not like Robert Browne; I have not the confidence in him expressed by Dr. Dexter and Dr. Dale. He was a man offensive to his opponents and objectionable to his friends; he betrayed the cause to which he attached himself; and I do not wonder at the heat with which English dissenters have always repudiated the nickname 'Brownist.'"

Dr. Brown of Bedford, in "The Pilgrim Fathers of New England," though not disposed to admit all the claims which have been advanced in his behalf, has this to say of him: "The leader of the Congregationalists in East Anglia was Robert Browne, a man of ability and force of character, and, so far as social position was concerned, of aristocratic connections. By a strange irony of fate he is by one side persistently described as the founder of Congregationalism, and as persistently repudiated by the other. From having advocated Congregational principles at one part of his career, and withdrawn from them at another, he has received scant justice from both sides. Ardent and impulsive,

but too unstable to stand the stress of the storm which gathered about him year after year — he was, he says, in the course of his life in no fewer than thirty prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at midday — he scarcely seems to have deserved all the hard things that have been said of him. No doubt he had more capacity for expounding the principles of Congregationalism than for working them out in his actual life; but no one can dispassionately read the five books he published between 1582 and 1584 without feeling that at that time at least he was an earnest-minded man, of strong and clear convictions in favor of popular government in the Church."

Dr. Bacon is perhaps the least sparing of all in his criticism of Browne. He says that, though he "was restored to good standing, not only in the church, but in the priesthood," and "in a short time after his submission received a benefice," "this does not imply that he recanted his opinions, or made any profession of repentance for what he had done — it was enough that he submitted. He had not even the desperate self-respect which prompted Judas to hang himself; but, like Benedict Arnold, he took care not to lose the poor reward of his baseness. He was the rector of a parish, and received his tithes, but never preached. By his idle and dissolute life he disgraced his ministry; but, inasmuch as he could not be charged with non-conformity, he retained his living. The quarrelsome temper which had broken up his little church at Middleberg vented itself upon his wife in acts of cruelty, and they could not live together. In a quarrel with the constable of the parish, he took the responsibility of beating that officer. Arraigned before a justice for the unclerical offense, he used such violence of speech that he was sent to prison for contempt, and there he died, at the age of eighty, a miserable and despised old man, but a beneficed minister of the Church of England, and in regular standing."

After all, it seems to me that Dr. Dexter has given us much the best explanation of Browne's eccentricities. Dr. Bacon, in the estimate which he made of Browne in the latter part of his life, followed Fuller. Dr. Dexter took pains to sift the statements of Fuller, and see what grounds

he had for his opinion. Trying his assertions by the test of a careful examination into the facts on which they were based, he found him not invariably trustworthy. Very properly, therefore, he refused to follow Fuller in his judgment of Browne unless he found something beside Fuller's mere assertion to justify the judgment. According to his summing up of the case Browne was not an "ambitious bigot;" he was not a "contemptible sneak;" he was not "dishonest" and corrupt; he was not "a renegade and a reprobate;" but "he was an honest man, whose sensitive mind, under great stress of trial, made shipwreck on his return to his native country; who never became really himself again; and who, for the longer portion of the last five and forty years of his life, was in a shattered mental condition, which in our time would be thought better placed in a lunatic hospital than in the rectory even of an Established Church of eighteen families." The facts brought forward would appear to make this clear to any unprejudiced student. Weak in body, intense of brain, and of a high-strung nervous organization, the man was overworked and overworried into a species of insanity from which he never recovered.

What, now, did Robert Browne do to entitle him to the unique place which he holds in the history and development of Congregationalism? He did three things:

(a) He stated the principles which underlie Congregationalism with a clearness and force which at once invested them with a large measure of the authority of demonstrated truths. Dr. Mackennal, in spite of his dislike of the man, freely concedes to him this merit: "He was a clear and resolute thinker; he gave himself to study the problems of his time in the simple light of the New Testament, and he produced an admirable and complete doctrine of the Church, which at once determined the whole future of Congregationalism." Dr. Dexter makes the statement: "It is very clear that Browne . . . following the track of thought which he had long been elaborating . . . thoroughly discovered and restated the original Congregational way in all its simplicity and symmetry."

(b) He put his theory in practise by organizing a church

on the basis of Congregationalism. This he did at Norwich. It is a question in debate whether this church at Norwich was really the first Congregational church set up in England. Dr. Dexter, in a sentence immediately following the statement just quoted from him, goes on to say: "And here . . . by his promptings and under his guidance, was formed the first church in modern days of which I have any knowledge, which was intelligently, and as one might say philosophically, Congregational in its platform and processes."

In a certain technical sense this may be true, — it no doubt is true; but all the later writers, such as Griffis, Brown, and Mackennal, are a unit in the claim that there were churches in England which were to all intents and purposes Congregational years before Browne began his career. The members of them were Protestants. They were dissenters. They were affiliated in worship. Like the smitten people of God in the olden times, they came together in dens and caves; or, like the disciples before the day of Pentecost, they met for prayer and praise in upper chambers; and while not Congregational in all that the term has come to mean in the United States, they were yet independents, and were bound together in those bonds of liberty and fellowship which are essential elements of Congregationalism.

One of these early congregations, numbering not less than two hundred, gathered in London, and called "Gospellers," dates back to 1553. Four years later this hated and hunted body of simple believers in Jesus Christ came to grief. Its meeting-place was revealed to the authorities by "a false, hypocritical, and dissembling brother," and its minister and deacon were burned at the stake. This minister was a native of Scotland, named John Rough, who had heard of a "holy congregation of God's children" somewhere in the great city, and had come to find and join them. He succeeded, but in a little more than a month after his arrival the assembly was discovered and broken up, and he was compelled to suffer the pangs of martyrdom.

A year before the death of Rough a minister by the name of Rose was sent to the Tower. With a few of his fellow

believers he was detected at a communion service in a private house in Bow Churchyard, and for this offense was thrust into prison. His congregation, however, was but a small one, and was gathered, most likely, somewhat later than the one to which Rough belonged.

Later than these organizations, but more than ten years before Browne had formed his church at Norwich, there was a very notable congregation of this sort in London. The year quite generally assigned to it is 1567. Richard Fitz was its minister. This was a church proper, with a pastor to lead the flock, and officers to administer its affairs, though it had no settled place for holding its meetings. On the occasion when the officers of the law broke in upon them, and arrested those whom they supposed to be the leaders of the body to the number of a dozen or more, these people, who had by some process found their way back into the simplicity of Christ, were assembled in Plumber's Hall. In a paper signed by Fitz, in which what are claimed to be the true marks of a church of Christ are set forth, these three characteristics and aims are named: "First and foremost, the glorious word and Evangel preached, not in bondage and subjection, but freely and purely. Secondly, to have the Sacraments ministered purely, only and altogether according to the institution and good word of the Lord Jesus, without any tradition or invention of man. And last of all to have not the filthy canon law, but discipline only, and altogether agreeable to the same heavenly and almighty word of our good Lord, Jesus Christ."

Dr. Mackennal in the little book to which reference has already been made, and from which in the main the above facts have been gathered, says: "There are certain points in which this London community had not attained to the complete Congregational system afterward elaborated by Browne and Barrowe; but there is considerable advance beyond the position of the secret assemblies of Mary's time. The church is in protest against the incomplete Reformation in a professedly Protestant nation; — but most important of all is what is said about discipline. This is regarded as the charge of the whole church; any church

where this is so is entitled to be called Congregational." The same author affirms that "a church is still in existence whose connection with this persecuted company can be traced — the church of the Pilgrim Fathers in Southwark." He suspects there may be other existing congregations which had their origin in the same movement. Unquestionably there were a good many of these dissenting believers abroad. Dr. Brown finds "indisputable evidence" that a Congregational church was in existence in London as early as 1571. He is inclined to think that this London church may have been the school in which Browne learned so well his Congregational principles. Be this as it may, and be many other things which might be said on this matter as they may, Robert Browne, by his presence and influence and leadership, did organize this church at Norwich, and he organized it on the basis of what are distinctly Congregational ideas, and he gave it such shaping and informed it with such a spirit and purpose that it has stood out from the day on which it was organized until this present hour as a clearly defined and, so far as its form and method of administering its affairs are concerned, typical Congregational church. Whoever may have preceded him, or wherever he may have got his notion, this man did actually set up and minister to a church that was self-consciously Congregational.

(c) He advocated the scheme of Separatism, and pushed it to a successful issue. This was his supreme service; and it would have been a supremely excellent service for anybody to render. In the perplexity and confusion of the situation he saw clearly what ought to be done. When others were taking counsel of their fears, and were uncertain and hesitant, he boldly moved forward and beckoned others to follow. The brave note which he sounded back from Middleberg, so soon after reaching there with the portion of the Norwich flock which had accompanied him to the safe shelter of a foreign land, and which became the rallying cry and word of command to the more radical of the Nonconformists, put a new face on affairs and gave him the right of leadership. He took the ground that he and those of like precious faith had waited and debated

long enough, had resorted to a sufficient number of expedients, and that the hour had struck for them to act on their own convictions and meet the consequences. He flung out the banner: *Reformation Without Tarrying For Any*. Preachers were not to await orders from the magistrates before undertaking the business of reforming themselves and their charges, but they were to enter on their tasks immediately — immediately and vigorously — or stand exposed to the accusation of wickedness. The foremost men of the Puritan party were helplessly handicapped by their vicious theory of the interdependence of church and state. Cartwright, invaluable as his aid to the cause had been, sat there enmeshed and helpless in the web of his own weaving. With the rashness of a genius for clear seeing and bold action, Browne hewed his way straight out through all the entanglements in which the theorizers found themselves involved and gained solid footing for them all.

To sum it up in few words, it may be said that it was given to Browne, as to no other, to set Puritanism forward by defining the church in terms so intelligible and simple that one saw in his statement a reproduction of the spirit and method of primitive Christianity, and by announcing the duty of the situation in language so positive and ringing that out-and-out Separatism was made to seem to many minds not only justifiable but imperative. At just the moment when Separatism was of all words the word most needed, Browne spoke it. He spoke it so clearly and loudly that the echo of it has never died out of the world. Had the close of his career been a thousandfold more disgraceful than it was, this would have been a service forever to his credit. He was clear-sighted and brave and true at an exigency when these high qualities counted most for the cause. He himself could not undo the good he had done.

For circulating books in which these courageous views were expressed and advocated some men lost their lives, and Browne has been blamed for it. He remained safe, so it has been charged, in his secure retreat in a foreign land, and permitted others more fearless back in England to make

the last great sacrifice in penalty for the distribution of his publications and the dissemination of his ideas.

But if Browne is to be reproached for this, then Martin Luther must bear the blame for the blood shed in the mighty conflict which resulted from the changes which his views set in motion. So, too, the cruel taking off of the patriotic yeomen who fell at Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill must be laid as a crime at the doors of Samuel Adams and John Hancock. Even though he did not bear arms and expose his own breast on the field of battle, who fails to applaud Benjamin Franklin for his stout advocacy of the rights of the colonies in their revolt against England? There would have been no Civil War in this land — at any rate no Civil War in just the form in which it broke upon the nation — with all its ghastly record of suffering and slaughter, had there been no agitation against the economic blunder and awful wrong of slavery. Some of these agitators never shouldered muskets nor faced foes on fields of blood; but will not Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips and Henry Ward Beecher and John Greenleaf Whittier be held in lasting honor by all true patriots and philanthropists for the bold and heroic part they took in exposing the monstrous iniquity of holding men and women in bondage, and creating a public opinion which at length would insist on striking every shackle from every limb and giving to all alike a chance to breathe the air of freedom and to work out the destiny of honest and intelligent citizens of the Republic?

Ideas concerning liberty and human rights have always been explosive and revolutionary. They have been explosive and revolutionary because they needed to be; and the utterance of them has almost always awakened opposition and endangered life. If the thinkers had only consented to keep still there would have been far less strife in church and state, but a vast deal more bondage. Suppose Browne had never written any books — or, having written books, suppose they had never been taken back into England and distributed and read, and gravely pondered by the men into whose hands they fell — what then? Would nobody have suffered? Would no souls have perished for lack of knowl-

edge, and would the Church have been as well off, and the world as far along? There is a crime of silence as well as of speech. As much harm may come from overprudence as from uncalculating courage. Browne was right in what he thought and in publishing his thoughts; for thereby came appreciable gains to the cause of Christ.

IV

THE PILGRIMS AT SCROOBY

So many therefore of these professors as saw the evil of these things, in these parts, and whose hearts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeal for His truth, they shook off this yoke of antichristian bondage, and as the Lord's free people, joined themselves — by a covenant of the Lord — into a church estate, in the fellowship of the gospel, to walk in all His ways, made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavors, whatsoever it should cost them. — WILLIAM BRADFORD.

The principle is now almost universally recognized that, for the national well-being as well as for religious prosperity, there must be self-regulating Christian communities, interpreting for themselves the will of God, existing within the state, but not using the civil power. — ALEXANDER MACKENNAL.

Back of these beginnings, it is true, we recognize the tremendous forces of the Renaissance, of the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries in the West, and of the intolerance of the Anglican communion. But, all said and done, that a handful of men living in a small group of obscure villages in England, one of them a postmaster, should have been chiefly responsible for a work that was to be pregnant with the destiny of unborn millions of human beings, it is not exaggeration to describe as one of the wonders of the world.

JAMES NEVINS HYDE.

Men and women chosen by Divine Providence to do a mighty work for human liberty, whereof we, and all American people, and the innumerable millions more that are to come — are the inheritors.

EDWIN S. CRANDON.

Men whom the Lord, and not the King, made great;
And who, themselves, were both a church and State.

JOHN PIERPONT.

IV

THE PILGRIMS AT SCROOBY

THE church at Scrooby was gathered in 1606. Four years earlier, or a year before Elizabeth died and James succeeded her, a Separatist church had been organized at Gainsborough, on the Trent, about twelve miles away. So much opposition began to be encountered by this Gainsborough flock, and so many of the members were from Scrooby and the immediate vicinity, that it was deemed advisable by these members, at the date just mentioned, to withdraw and form a second congregation in their own community. In disregard of whatever failures there had been in the past, and in defiance of whatever dangers and hardships the future might have in store for them, these brave souls took their stand for religious liberty and the rights of conscience. This stand it was their solemn purpose to maintain unto the end; and grandly did they succeed. The tyranny which drove them from their homes and despoiled them of their earthly goods, failed utterly to drive them from their high resolve. They were forced to change their local habitation and to plant and nourish their institutions first in a foreign land, and then on far distant shores which were under the jurisdiction of their own sovereign; but they carried their independent and self-governing church with them — never abandoned it; never dissolved it; and, on the basis of the simple Christian democracy on which it was organized three hundred years ago in that narrow hamlet of Scrooby, it still exists in the Old Colony at Plymouth. Under stress of both doctrinal and spiritual necessity this church at Plymouth has been compelled, it is true, to become once more a Separa-

tist church, yet it still exists in an unbroken continuity of life, and loyal to the same fundamental conceptions of the Christian faith on which it was originally founded.

I

This gathering of the Scrooby church was a sign of the times and in line with the drift of things. Rough and Rose and Fitz had appeared on the stage and done their work and gone hence. Browne followed them with a ringing testimony, and then went back on himself and his ideas; but Separatism, with unabated vigor and determination, kept moving forward, and Separatists continued to increase. In no wise discouraged by the strange collapse of Browne, Francis Johnson came to the front. In 1592 he was chosen pastor of a Separatist church in London. This body was notable not only for its numbers, but for the ability and character of the men whom it attracted into its fellowship. In proof of this it is enough to cite the names of Greenwood and Barrowe. These men would have dignified any cause.

Dates and numbers are difficult to fix. But in the later eighties and early nineties Separatists were well in evidence in London. They seemed to be springing up in all sections of the city.

Dr. Dexter, in a passage whose facts need the exact setting which his graphic words give them in order to be most impressive and effective, says: "We trace these people in winter to as many as seven or eight different private houses in various parts of the city; and in milder weather to a garden house near Bedlam, and to the woods of Deptford and Ratcliffe, and the secluded gravel-pits of Islington. We have glimpses of as many as twelve or fourteen different expounders who appear to have labored with them. And there is evidence that they were accustomed thus to assemble to the number sometimes of sixty or one hundred; while, when the officers were very diligent in hunting them, so many of them might be put in prison, that their meetings would fall in attendance to a score or less. Sometimes they

would be nearly all incarcerated at once, and then manage to have a little service together in prison perhaps, after the midnight manner of Paul and Silas at Philippi. We have the names of twenty-four who — some of them after long and wasting confinement — died in various dungeons, the majority in Newgate. Fifty-nine who were at one time in durance thus for conscience' sake in the Gatehouse, the Fleet, Newgate, Bridewell, the Clink, the White Lion, the Wood Street Counter, and the Poultry Counter, united in signing a petition to the lord treasurer; stating that they had endured great hardships, many of them having been shut up for a year and a half, some in irons, some in straits for proper food, and suffering from the miasmas of their confinement; pleading that they might have a fair public hearing, and be made examples of, if they were found worthy of death or bonds; but if not, that they might be bailed out, so as to be in a condition to provide by honest labor for the support of their families and themselves; or, if not that, that they might at least be shut up together, so as to have some comfort and help of each other's society."

That the number of people who were of this way of thinking should multiply was inevitable. Men who were at once intelligent and sincere could not help feeling that the church, as it then existed in England, alike in its attitude and aims, and in its spirit and method, had departed widely from the simple faith and purpose of Him who had founded the church and assigned to it the mission it was to fulfil in the world. The queen was affording no relief. Eyes were turned in vain to Parliament. The press was in chains. There was no public opinion to which to make appeal. There was nothing at hand but these secret assemblies — assemblies, however, which were no longer merely secret, as in Mary's day, but distinctly and positively Separatist.

Outside of London there were also Separatist churches. How many of them there were it is impossible to tell. It is not surprising that such churches should spring up on the east coast of England, but it is a bit strange that they should be found in the western districts. But truth is contagious. Right ideas will find lodgment wherever there

are intelligent, conscientious, and receptive minds. More men than one might suspect were hungry for the bread of life. They did not know how to obtain it, but they needed it and wanted it. It will excite neither wonder nor suspicion that Sir Walter Raleigh, near the time of the martyrdom of Greenwood, Barrowe, and Penry, should express the fear from his seat in Parliament that there might be as many as twenty thousand Brownists in England.

But whether there were few or many of these assemblies of believers, they found the lines fallen to them in any but pleasant places. Wherever they appeared, whatever their form of government or method of worship, be it under Henry, Mary, Elizabeth, or James, as often as the members of these congregations were discovered they were transferred to jails, and abused and punished as if they had been criminals of the deepest dye. They were men and women, however, whom threats could not intimidate nor soft words cajole. By no pains and penalties could they be tortured into playing false to their convictions, and by no promises and gifts could they be bribed into disloyalty to God. After a quarter of a century and more of persecution, these fearless dissenters were still determined to worship God and live their lives after the pattern set for them on the Mount. Of this the church at Scrooby is abundant proof.

II

Scrooby is situated about one hundred and fifty miles north from London. It is within the borders of Nottinghamshire; but it is also close to the counties of Lincoln and York. It is forty-five miles from the east coast of England. It is an agricultural town, limited in area, and with a population which probably never exceeded one hundred and fifty. To my eye, as it first lay open to view in 1888, and again on that memorable day in July, 1891, when it was visited by so many of the descendants of the Pilgrims and the adherents of their faith and polity, it was fair to look upon and exceedingly attractive. In a slight irregularity of

surface, produced by elevations here and there in alternation with sweeps of meadow-land, in fertility of soil, in wealth of grass and grain and vegetable, in sheep and cattle and horses grazing in fragrant clover, in stacks of straw and hay near the yards of the farmhouses, there is much to remind one of some of the fairest and most fertile sections of northern Illinois. There is this marked difference, however, between an agricultural landscape at the season of growing or ripening harvests in England and the United States — there one never sees any beautiful fields of Indian corn. Without these fields no farm scenery ever appears to me to be quite perfect. Indian corn in the spindle, or in the tassel, or with the ripe yellow ears gleaming out through the faded husks, is fit subject for painter or poet.

But Scrooby has associations which illuminate and sanctify it. It would have been a strange eye which could see no glory in those outlying fields and no peculiar radiance in those overarching heavens. Those streets were once trodden by the feet of men whose touch glorified Plymouth Rock and made it a power forever. Those fields were once cultivated by toilers whose hands, before seizing and guiding the plow, had rested reverently in the hand of the Master. On the vibrant waves of the sweet, tremulous air devout songs and mighty cries once went up into the ear of the Lord of Hosts. In the closets of those old homes heaven and earth were brought very near together, and men and women had the witness of the Spirit that they were the children of God and heirs of the everlasting inheritance. Impulses to fidelity to Christian truth and to Christian living which will never lose their molding energy were there received and coined into character. In that narrow hamlet, along those roads and lanes, across those fields and pastures, men walked with God and they caught the rhythm of his step. His secret was there whispered to their souls. There they saw Him who is invisible, and were made strong to endure whatever of hardship might fall to their lot in the coming years. Through quiet waiting on God they came into those experiences which are evermore the best equipment for effective service in moral spheres.

III

The meeting-place of this Separatist church at Scrooby was in the old manor house in which William Brewster lived. One can but think how sharp the contrast between these gatherings for prayer and praise and meditation and other gatherings which there had been at one time and another within those same apartments.

As far back as the time of William the Conqueror the estate in which this house was located belonged to the archbishops of York. These lordly ecclesiastics often made the house a hunting-lodge, or a place for a few weeks of pleasant recreation. Besides, the little hamlet was on the line of the great thoroughfare from Scotland by way of York to London, and travelers going back and forth found it a convenient station at which to stop for a little on the journey. The mansion, too, was large, having really the dimensions of a palace; and kings and princes with their royal retinues could be easily accommodated under its roof and within its ample rooms. In 1535, so we are told, there were in this building not less than thirty-nine chambers or apartments. Hence it naturally came about that persons whose names are conspicuous on the pages of history often tarried there for a night.

Within the first decade of the thirteenth century King John had some association with the place, though the proof of his actual presence there fades out into a pale inference. Margaret, the sister of Henry VIII, and queen of Scotland through her marriage with James IV, and, as one writer has noticed, the ancestress of every sovereign who has since occupied the throne of the British Empire, once rested there for a night. It was when she was on her journey to her new happiness and her awaiting honors, and the occasion was made one of great display and jubilation. Henry VII, the father of Queen Margaret, in one of his progresses, was a guest of the house. It was a place, indeed, which seems to have had strong attractions for royalty and the notables which are wont to bask in the



MANOR HOUSE, SCHOOPY

smiles of kings. Henry VIII gave himself and his attendants the pleasure of a day's stay at this house when making a journey to the north. He was "so charmed by the spot" by what he saw of it at this time or some other, that he wanted it "for his own," and, as Dr. Dexter tells us, he actually bought it a few years afterwards, though at a later date it was sold back to the bishop who made provision that at his death it should revert to the See of York. Elizabeth coveted the estate, and sought to secure possession of it under a long lease, but Sandys, who was then the archbishop, had the self-respect and courage to refuse the request.

But of all the rulers and high officials who at one time and another were guests or occupants of the old manor house, the one who excites in our breasts the most lively and pathetic interest is the man who for a decade and a half carried the great seal of the lord chancellor of England, and then had to surrender it, and, leaving civil affairs alone, retire discredited to his archbishopric. Cardinal Wolsey, when broken in health and spirit, and excluded from court by the ambitious and unscrupulous king whom he had served only too faithfully, found here an agreeable retreat. He had a right to the retreat and to all the comfort which the place could afford him; for it was under his control as the highest ecclesiastic of York. How strange it must have seemed to him to be there, and how different from the days, not very far back, when "no man's pie" was "freed from his ambitious finger"! How little he could have imagined that, inside of his fourscore years, a new and advanced body of the "pernicious sect of the Lutherans" whom he hated so bitterly, and whom he advised the king, among the last written words which he gave to the world, to "depress," was to have housing and encouragement within this ancient enclosure where he was finding refreshment and repose! How little, too, he could have imagined that in the simple but positive attitude which this "pernicious sect" took, and in the few, yet apparently insignificant deeds which it did, it was to invest the spot with an imperishable human interest!

But this is what had come to pass. The gates of this

manor house were open, and its doors were swinging back at the touch of these simple folk — the most of them plain farmers — who sought some quiet and secluded retreat where they might join with each other in mutual consultation, and meet God in reverent and humble worship, and make known their common desires at the throne of grace. It was no longer mere recreation, nor aimless lounging, nor boisterous revelry, to which the walls of that old building were witness, but voices of thanksgiving and supplication and bendings of the knee to the Almighty. The house of rest and refection had become a house of prayer, and men were crossing its threshold and occupying its ample but secluded rooms that they might hold communion with God, and learn and obey his will, and have the exceeding comfort of his presence.

IV

That of all men in the world William Brewster should have been in the old manor house at this particular time, is one of the marked providences of the situation. Yet it all came about in a very natural way. Through the system of leases under which it was managed, the property fell under the control of this wise and determined Separatist. For purely business purposes the estate was for the time being in his hands. From 1594 to 1607, or during those years which covered the most critical period in the early and formative stages of the churches at Gainsborough and Scrooby, William Brewster carried the key and opened and shut the doors of this most convenient palatial residence. In this simple circumstance what aid there was to a despised and struggling cause! How much there was in it to shape destiny! How different might have been the outcome of the whole contest had some man other than William Brewster held the lease to that estate during the eventful years when these individual dissenters needed, not only a leader of sagacity and resources, but just such an opportunity as this building afforded to be welded into a united, compact, and enduring body!

"The threads our hands in blindness spin
No self-determined plan weaves in;
The shuttle of the unseen powers
Works out a pattern not as ours."

It is easy to imagine how these people gathered for meditation and worship on the Lord's Day. The picture is half pathetic, and yet pleasant to contemplate. No bell summoned them, and no tap of drum; and no palfrey bore them easily and ostentatiously to their extemporized sanctuary. On their guard against spies and informers, they moved out from their homes with cautious steps and minds alert. They were careful not to get bunched in too large numbers lest they might attract attention and awaken suspicion. One by one, or at most two by two, they moved on quietly to the place appointed. If it was necessary for one here or there to hurry his pace or to slacken it in order to avoid making too large a group, the thing was instinctively done. Instead of lingering about the doorway and extending kindly greetings and asking after neighbors and friends who might be ill, they all passed in and were quickly out of sight. These simple but sincere and intensely earnest men and women were William Brewster's guests. They were in his home on his invitation, and he treated them with an open-handed hospitality. Not only did he open his doors to them and furnish them with suitable apartments for their meetings, but he looked after their bodily comfort and fed and refreshed them. "Long afterwards, and far away, they remembered their meetings in Brewster's home, and that 'with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great cost.'"

But the old manor house is gone. Long ago it became a mere tradition. Inside of fifty years probably, after Brewster and his associates in faith made it their gathering place, it was taken down, and a farmhouse was erected on or near the site of it. This is what one sees who visits the spot now — an ordinary English farmhouse.

Other facts and incidents of special interest in regard to the town and manor house are given by Dr. Griffis in his "Pilgrims In Their Three Homes." But one who wishes

to make an exhaustive study of the subject, and to know all which it seems possible to know concerning the locality and the house, will turn to "The England and Holland of the Pilgrims" by the Dexters. The few details here supplied, however, would seem to be enough to furnish a clear notion of the historical setting and the natural environment of the little Pilgrim church at Scrooby. It is doubtful if either the interesting story of the sharp contests of the past which had taken place within their bounds, or the soft, beautiful landscape in the midst of which their lives were cast, had much influence on the minds and hearts of the Separatists. Life with them was too strenuous for this kind of indulgence or gratification. They were too much concerned with the grave questions then and there confronting them; too much on fire with zeal for a holy cause to give thought to historical researches, or to yield to the spell of esthetic attractions. How to recover and be secure in their natural rights of walking with God in ways approved by their own reason and conscience was what filled their minds and controlled their actions.

V

It is here at Scrooby, in connection with the little Separatist church which met in the old manor house, that we make our first acquaintance, or, if we have known something of them before, come into more intimate association with names which are dear to the hearts of their descendants on this side of the water, and some of which are destined to endure as long as the Pilgrim story shall be told.

VI

Any enumeration of the men of influence who composed the Scrooby church must begin with Richard Clyfton. He was a Derbyshire man, and past fifty years of age when he openly identified himself with the Separatist movement. Bradford in his commendation of his ability and character links his name with Robinson and Brewster, and says of him that he was

"a grave and revered preacher, who by his pains and diligence had done much good, and under God had been the means of the conversion of many." Considering how things were going with the average minister in those days this was high tribute, especially the avowal that "under God" he was "the means of the conversion of many." Neither Paul nor Edwards nor Finney nor Spurgeon would have thought anything better could be said of himself and his work.

For years he was settled at Babworth, seven or eight miles distant from Scrooby. He was the minister whom young Bradford used to go ten miles or more to hear, and who helped the earnest lad into the light and joy of salvation. This was while he was still a clergyman in the Established Church. Just why and when he left Babworth — abandoned a living for Separatism — are questions on which we have no light, except the inference that he was a devoted and conscientious minister of the gospel, and could no longer reconcile it to his moral sense to remain in a compromising attitude. A man at once intelligent, faithful, and sincere, his honest study of the Scriptures and his earnest preaching of the truth as he found it, could hardly have failed to convince him that his place was with the despised and persecuted few who had come to see their duty in the new light, which was, after all, only the old light rekindled.

He was the first pastor of the flock which gathered from Sunday to Sunday in the old manor house. This was only natural; for he was an accredited minister, a man of marked ability, of high character and deep conviction, well known in the vicinity, and personally known, most likely, to the larger number of the congregation, and well fitted by age and experience to be a trustworthy guide and comforter in those times of perplexity and trouble. Hence he was one to whom this afflicted people would turn in confidence. Whether he had been duly "called" and regularly "installed" in the office of pastor by the circle of believers with whom he was associated is a matter of small concern. Some things look as if there had been no formal action of this kind, especially the fact — a fact

whose significance seems to have been overlooked by those who have debated this question — that Robinson is known to have been recognized as the pastor of this church while yet in Amsterdam. Neither the people nor Robinson would have consented to displace Clyfton had he ever been formally established in this position. Still, though only "acting" pastor, as we should say, he was pastor; and the hungry sheep looked up to him and were fed.

Clyfton was one of the last of the Scrooby company to reach Holland. He had remained behind evidently to aid in covering the retreat. He was deeply interested in the questions which were exciting and confusing the minds of many of the Separatists at Amsterdam, and his pen had a share in the discussions which the bitter controversy awakened. He did not join in the removal from Amsterdam to Leyden. He had a warm esteem for the Scrooby brethren, and in turn he was warmly esteemed by them, but responsibilities and anxieties seem to have aged him prematurely, and he had no heart for further searchings for a home. When Robinson and his adherents decided to journey further, Clyfton sought and received a letter of dismissal from the Scrooby church and of recommendation to the "Ancient Church," of which we shall hear somewhat more, in Amsterdam. This ended his connection — a brief, but an honorable and helpful connection — with the Pilgrim movement. In 1616, at the age of sixty-three, Clyfton died. He died comparatively young, but he had fallen into line with the providence of God, and his life was made an effective force for the bettering of things in church and state.

But the men who were most prominent in this movement, and whose influence was the most commanding, and whose figures cast the longest shadows across the centuries, were Brewster, Bradford, and Robinson.

VII

William Brewster was at once a man of convictions and of affairs. He knew how to bring things to pass. In natural sagacity, in trustworthiness, in courage, and in experience, he was eminently qualified to be a leader.

Brewster Both the place and time of his birth are matters of inference. The strong probabilities are that Scrooby was his native town. Most writers assert this without much hesitation. Indications point to 1566 as the year when he was born. Steele, in his "Life of Brewster" makes the year 1560. In fixing on this date he followed Morton, who was clearly in the wrong. Dexter brought to light an affidavit made by Brewster at Leyden in 1609 in which he asserted that he was "about forty two" years of age. This would locate his birth in 1567. But the "about" in the statement, and other considerations not necessary to be named, justify the conclusion that 1566 is the correct date. The month and the day cannot be determined.

Young Brewster entered Peterhouse College at Cambridge University in the latter part of 1580. There is no evidence that he completed a full course of instruction. On the contrary it is quite clear that he did not. But while his opportunities for formal culture were limited, and practical affairs rather than lectures and books were made his teachers, it is to be said that in association with persons of learning and eminence, in successfully meeting the grave and delicate responsibilities which were thrown upon him, and in chances afforded him to study the lives and character and to observe the manners and customs of people other than the English, he soon came to have what must be regarded as much more than the equivalent of an ordinary liberal education of his time. He knew not a little of books, and he knew a great deal of men. He was the providential man of the hour. It is difficult to see how there could have been any Scrooby movement without Brewster to be the organizing and directing force of it. Touch these Scrooby people anywhere, and it is the throb of Brewster's life that

is felt. Trace any of the streams of their most important actions, and Brewster will be found to be the fountain from which the streams flow.

How came William Brewster into this knowledge of men and the varied experience which fitted him so peculiarly for the service he was to render? He had native gifts, it is clear, especially in the line of things practical, quite above the average; but how came he to know the world so well, and to have an experience so much wider than the other Separatists with whom he was identified? The answer is near at hand and simple. It lies folded up in the career of William Davison.

Davison, starting in public life as private secretary to Sir Henry Killigrew, an English ambassador, came to hold a high position in the court of Elizabeth; and, while he ultimately fell out of her favor and had to suffer for it, the queen had so much confidence in his loyalty and tact, that in the earlier period of his political life she was wont to employ him in some of the many difficult tasks of diplomacy in which she was always engaged. It was this man who was sent by Elizabeth to Scotland in 1583 to prevent the formation of a treaty, offensive and defensive, which Catherine de Medici, acting through her son, Henry III, who was the nominal, but only the nominal, ruler of France at this time, was trying to conclude with James VI, who was subsequently to appear on the stage as James I of England. It was this man who, a couple of years after having tried his skill at secret negotiations in Scotland, was made the queen's envoy to Holland to fix the terms on which the Dutch were to receive the aid of England in their unutterably significant and tremendous struggle with Spain. Thus Brewster was close to the springs of action at a momentous hour in the history of liberty and independent thinking and self-government. To be associated with such a man at such a crisis in the progress of church and state, was a rare opportunity for getting into touch with men and movements.

Just when or where or on what conditions Brewster first entered the service which in no long time brought him into

Davison's
influence
on Brew-
ster

close personal relations with Davison is not known. It has been conjectured that on the mission of diplomacy from the court of Elizabeth to the court of James, to which reference has just been made, the envoy may have stopped at the manor house, and had his attention attracted to the boy — now well along toward young manhood — by some particular act of efficiency and courtesy, or by his general intelligence and promise. It is possible, however, that the two had never met at Scrooby, or, if they had, had never had any intercourse, and that Brewster was originally employed by Davison on the recommendation of influential personages at York — bishops or their subordinates — inasmuch as these men knew both the father and son; or by instructors of standing at Cambridge who may naturally be supposed to have had a high idea of the merits and prospects of their recent pupil.

But in whatever way it had been brought about Brewster was with Davison, and he had all the advantages which intimate association with him, at a time when he had important duties to discharge both abroad in Holland and at home in London, could possibly afford. These advantages were all the greater because of the special interest which Davison took in the young man; for, from the outset, Brewster seems to have had a warm place in the love and confidence of his superior. Bradford tells us that this high officer of state esteemed his assistant as a son rather than a servant, and was so assured of his discretion and fidelity that he gave him the preeminence among those about him, and was wont to commit to him the handling of matters which required special skill and secrecy. It imposes no strain on probability to imagine that the two may have talked together of the things of God and the soul as well as of diplomacy and war.

Indeed this is more than probable. "Davison," as Dr. Griffis says, "had long lived in Antwerp, where his children were born, and where he was an elder in the English Puritan Church." He was a man of sufficient ability and intelligence to understand thoroughly the underlying issues of the great struggle between Holland and Spain, and likewise the life-and-death contest which the forces of conservatism

and progress were waging in England; and he was a man of sufficient heart and moral earnestness to be deeply concerned for the welfare of religion. He saw that a true, vital faith and the interests of the people were bound up in one bundle. Brewster, with his nature and training and connections, could not sit at the feet of such a teacher and listen to his sober and confidential opinions on current questions without getting a new conception of the import and dignity of the problems which were pressing for solution, and feeling the currents of a fresh enthusiasm pulsing in his soul, and becoming in every way broader and larger.

Writers whose pages cover the Holland and London sections of the career of Brewster are fond of telling us how the keys of Flushing — one of the cities assigned for the time by Holland to England in pledge of the good faith of the Dutch, and of their purpose to meet the obligations of the new treaty made with Elizabeth — were put into his keeping, and that he slept with them under his pillow; and how the gold chain with which the Dutch States had honored Davison in testimony of their appreciation of his character and services, on their return and arrival in England, was placed by the distinguished ambassador on his cherished attendant, that thus decorated he might make his progress up to London and be ushered into the presence of the queen. It is no wonder. Such stories have their value as showing the kind of men Davison and Brewster both were. They show, too, the tender consideration with which the older uniformly treated the younger and the genuine stuff of which the younger was thought to be made.

But the significant facts — the facts to be emphasized — are that Brewster was in close association with a man who had the intelligence and training, the commanding character and standing among his fellows, and the positive Puritan convictions of Davison; that through Davison he was made acquainted with the methods and initiated into some of the mysteries of diplomatic circles and court life; and that his residence among the Dutch in circumstances which enabled him to get at both the inside and outside life of the people must have given him a fresh sense of the worth and practicability of religious freedom. These were the

opportunities and influences extending through a year in Holland and an indefinite though considerable time in London, by which there came to him the wide experience that made him a clear-headed man of affairs, and fitted him in due time to be an intelligent and resolute Separatist leader. Had this young Englishman been a dull student of history and a purblind observer of passing events, he must have learned something of consequence about civil and religious liberty from this daily mingling with a people whose blood had fertilized the soil they had wrested from the sea, in whose homes there were innumerable sad yet proud mementos of the patriotic devotion of fathers and sons, and whose great leader had but recently paid the price of his greatness by falling at the hands of an assassin. He was, however, neither a dull student nor a purblind observer, but an open-eyed onlooker, a man capable of rational reflections and sober conclusions, and we may be sure that he came back to his native land with a new confidence in democracy for both state and church.

But after so much time spent with Davison, and all in a way so satisfactory, why did Brewster return to Scrooby?

The story is startling in the surprise of it, and uncovers one of those strange turns in providence which seem so insignificant in themselves, but which are immeasurably important in the final issues which they determine. For reasons

of state it was decided that Mary Stuart must be put out of the way. This fair and fascinating woman was the storm-center of her time. She was the occasion of innumerable plots and intrigues; and so long as the Queen of Scots was permitted to live, neither the throne on which Elizabeth sat, nor the Reformation, nor the peace of the realm, was thought to be secure. Held in imprisonment for eighteen years — first at Lochleven, and during the latter part of the term in Fotheringay Castle, and, after many schemes for rising to power and advancing the Catholic cause, finally detected in what is known in history as the Babington conspiracy to murder the queen — Mary was at length pronounced guilty by a commission of peers, who tried her. There was a wide demand for her immedi-

directly north of Scrooby. The church in which he was baptized was the small bit of ancient architecture called St. Helen's, in the same town. But neither the day nor the month nor even the year in which this child with so large and fruitful a future came into the world is certain; though it is probable that his birth occurred in the early part of 1589. If this guess is right, Bradford and Endicott were of the same age. Winthrop was a year older, while Roger Williams was little more than an infant in arms when Bradford was compelled to leave England for Holland. Brewster was at least twenty-two and possibly twenty-three years his senior. Very closely, however, were the hearts of the two men knit together in mutual respect and in loyalty to a common cause. From first to last, in England and Holland and America, they lived in an unbroken and beautiful fellowship. "My dear and loving friend" is the language with which Bradford characterized him when the faithful elder had laid aside the burden of his fourscore years and passed on to share in the rewards and glories of the world beyond.

For meeting the storm which was about to break upon them, Brewster had the advantage in maturity of mind and in knowledge of affairs and in varied experience; but Bradford had come into the faith at a time in life and in a way to kindle his whole soul with enthusiasm and make him both daring and efficient. It is worth much to any man to have had a sharp and definite initiation into the divine life. This man was born early into the kingdom and after a pronounced struggle.

Affliction was the schoolmaster which brought him to Christ. His father died when he was less than two years of age, and not long after this bereavement he was deprived of his mother. At six he lost his grandfather; and the future care and training of the lad fell to the charge of his uncles. Before he was twelve he was visited with a severe illness. Bodily pain and suffering did for him what his uncles had neither the disposition nor the ability to undertake. The Bible was opened to his understanding, the privileges which all souls have in the Redeemer were revealed to him, and through the ministry of the Spirit and



BRADFORD COTTAGE, AUSTERFIELD



THE CHURCH IN AUSTERFIELD

the counsel of faithful friends — more especially the counsel of the Rev. Richard Clyfton, who was then pastor of the church at Babworth, and afterward for a brief time pastor, or at any rate acting pastor, of the church at Scrooby — he came under the power of the endless life, and in a little time identified himself, heart and soul, with the Separatists.

Efforts were made to dissuade him from his course; but “neither could the wrath of his uncles, nor the scoff of his neighbors, now turned upon him as one of the Puritans, divert him from his pious inclinations.” He had had such a well-defined experience of the love of God in Christ and of his forgiving grace, he had such regard for truth, he saw the way of duty so clearly, and he was so convinced of the transcendent value there is in a divinely enlightened and approving conscience, that he preferred the loss of all things, and even life itself, to the surrender of his faith. It is this kind of experience which makes men lion-hearted, and gives to the Cromwells of the world the invincible Ironsides with which to fight their battles. In the adhesion of Bradford to the Separatist cause Brewster was re-enforced not only by a choice man, but by a man who had seen the heavens opened and the angels of God ascending and descending, and who had been inwardly girded by the Almighty.

Eminent for his sweetness of disposition and his many lovable traits, it must not be thought for a moment that Bradford was in any wise a weak man. On the contrary, he had aptitudes, and a combination of qualities which made him very strong. His immediate ancestors seem to have had some local distinction. He inherited a little property. There are indications that he moved in the best circles of the community. But the talk of which he was likely to hear most was of farming operations and prospects, while his school privileges were necessarily limited. He had the inclinations and tastes of a scholar, and the versatility which would have given him success in any one of the departments of learning then open to students, and he may have longed in his youthful days to go up to Cambridge, as Brewster had done; but there was no one to send him, or to lend him encouragement in his aspirations. But in quickness of

apprehension, in moral integrity, in every-day wisdom, and in capacity for culture, there were few to surpass him. Above all, he was a man of weight. When he, with his sound judgment and unimpeachable character, was put into the scales, it took an immense amount of *avoirdupois* on the other side to send him to the beam.

Cotton Mather, a writer full of conceit, it is true, and given to extravagance in his estimate of men whom he approved, has this to say of Bradford: "He was a person for study as well as action; and hence, notwithstanding the difficulties through which he passed in his youth, he attained unto a noble skill in language. The Dutch tongue was become almost as vernacular to him as the English. The French tongue he could manage. The Latin and Greek he had mastered. But the Hebrew he most of all studied; because, he said he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in their native beauty. He was also well skilled in history, in antiquity, and in philosophy. And for theology, he became so versed in it, that he was an irrefragable disputant against the errors — especially those of Anabaptism which, with trouble, he saw rising in his colony. Wherefore he wrote some significant things for the confutation of those errors. But the crown of all was his holy, prayerful, watchful and fruitful walk with God, wherein he was very exemplary." Considering the difference in the standards of learning by which men were judged two hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago and those by which conclusions are now reached, this opinion of the author of "*Magnalia Christi Americana*" cannot be thought to be far out of the way.

Bradford had not reached his majority when he was forced, with his associates, to leave his native land; but the boy was father of the man, and the stand he took thus early was prophetic of his future fidelity and usefulness.

IX

John Robinson had a large, well-trained mind, and a clear perception of the situation. His courage was unflinching, yet not noisy. The spirit of conciliation and self-sacrifice marked his conduct; but nothing could induce him to surrender his loyalty to truth and duty. His character was admirable alike for its purity and simplicity, and its capacity to stand hard strains. Never impulsive and rash, he could be counted on in emergencies. Possessing and illustrating these qualities, he naturally became the most commanding figure in the circle of the exiles. He was not a reformer like Luther; he was not the originator of a system of theology like Calvin; he was not a determined and aggressive preacher like Knox; he lacked the organizing genius of Wesley; but for all this he was a great man as well as a good man, and multitudes in England and America rise up and call him blessed.

It comes to be monotonous to have to make the same statement over and over again concerning the men who were at the forefront in the Puritan and Separatist movement; but it is a fact in regard to Robinson, as well as many others who have been named, that both the time and place of his birth, after all efforts made to discover them, still remain in obscurity. All that can be affirmed is that he was probably a native of Gainsborough, and that his year was either 1575 or 1576. If the Cambridge University records are followed, his birth must be assigned to the former of these dates; but if the Leyden register is right, then the latter date is the correct one.

In fairness, however, it ought to be said that a part of this confusion and uncertainty may be attributed to the unsettled state of chronology at this period. There was not only the double way of Old Style and New Style employed in reckoning time, but the year began on different days in different countries. In Holland, in the seventeenth century, the year began with January first; but in England the legal year began on the 25th of March. Some of

these differences in dates may have their explanation in this fact.

Robinson entered Corpus Christi College in 1592. He took the full course, graduated, and in due time, in virtue of his scholarship and promise, secured a fellowship. This was no small distinction. Whatever his origin and social standing, this predestined leader of thought and guide of action was not only a man of ability but of learning. Congregationalists come legitimately by their traditional interest in schools and colleges. Three of these Scrooby men — Clyfton, Brewster, and Robinson — had studied at Cambridge University, and two of them had graduated. Smyth of Gainsborough was also a Cambridge graduate. To put a low estimate on education is false, not only to one of the most cherished aims of the Puritans of the Bay Colony, but to the memory of the most eminent Pilgrim of Scrooby and Leyden, and others associated with him.

Having completed his studies at Cambridge, Robinson took orders in the Established Church. His conversion and no doubt his decision to be a minister of Jesus Christ were largely due to Rev. William Perkins, who was the public catechist of his college and a warm evangelical preacher of great power. It goes without saying that a clergyman of this spirit and purpose must have been a Puritan; but he was a conforming Puritan.

About the close of the old and the beginning of the new century Robinson left Cambridge and went to Norwich, or the immediate vicinity. But he was a new century man. Cambridge in comparison with Oxford was a new century university. Norwich was a new century town. The same influences that had stirred the soul of Browne in both these centers of new century thinking, and confirmed him in his Separatist notions, powerfully affected Robinson. He was in a strait betwixt two. Should he sever his relations with the great body of believers with which he was connected — cut loose finally and forever from its compan-

ionship, its employments, and its promotions, and join fortunes with a few bruised and scattered people who had not yet risen to the dignity of a sect, but who were hunted day and night by the subservient tools of ecclesiastical and civil authority; or should he remain where he was, hampered in his plans, vexed of soul, and with a conscience ill at ease, but hoping still to do some little good under the limitations which fretted him and which must fret all sincere and earnest souls? At the end of four years a sharp turning-point was reached in the road which he was traveling. He had made such progress in Puritanism, and was so bold in proclaiming his opinions, that his bishop could no longer tolerate him, and he could no longer remain in the position he then occupied. He withdrew from the State Church, gave up his fellowship, and stepped out into the world to meet and bear whatever might await him. It was all with reluctance and pain but the step was taken — never to be retraced. One can but admire and pity him as he is seen pressing his way through the deep waters of this bitter inward conflict. The story is so interesting that he must be allowed to tell it himself. This is the revealing passage. It is taken from Robinson's elaborate and very able treatise on "Dissuasion Against Separatism Considered."

"I do indeed confess to the glory of God, and mine own shame, that a long time before I entered this way, I took some taste of the truth in it by some treatises published in justification of it, which, the Lord knoweth, were sweet as honey unto my mouth; and the very principal thing, which for the time quenched all further appetite in me, was the over-valuation which I made of the learning and holiness of these, and the like persons, blushing in myself to have a thought of pressing one hair-breadth before them in this thing, behind whom I knew myself to come so many miles in all other things; yea, and even of late times, when I had entered into a more serious consideration of these things, and according to the measure of grace received, searched the Scriptures, whether they were so or not, and by searching found much light of truth; yet was the same so dimmed and over-clouded with the contradictions of these men and others of the like note, that had not the truth been in my

heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, I had never broken those bonds of flesh and blood, wherein I was so strictly tied, but had suffered the light of God to have been put out in mine own untruthful heart by other men's darkness."

This is large and manly; but it is the record of a severe struggle. Awed and bound by the names of living men whom he revered, and by the names of dead men whose memory he honored, he was yet able to stand on his own feet and reach and rest in his own conclusions. Commanding as some of these names were which were cited against him, he had the courage to say, in a sentence immediately preceding the passage just quoted, "I neither think them so learned but they might err; nor so godly, but in their error they might reproach the truth they saw not." A wholesome stand this for any man to take; but to take it and hold it requires a good deal of moral fiber.

After the struggle was over, and he was no longer a Puritan merely, but a Separatist, Robinson went north.

But to what place? Dr. Dexter thinks he went to Gainsborough and, in what "must have been an impressive scene," offered himself for membership in a body of disciples who called themselves, in the language of their compact, "the Lord's free people," and who had become united "by a Covenant of the Lord, into a Church Estate, in the fellowship of the Gospel, to walk in all His ways made known, or to be made known, unto them, according to their best endeavors, whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them." On the contrary, Arber says: "We are not aware of any evidence tending to prove, in the slightest degree, that Robinson was ever a member of Smyth's church." His claim is that the Gainsborough church was not established until 1606 — the same year in which the Scrooby people formed their church. Hence he declares that "if Robinson went north in 1604, he must have gone to Scrooby." The difference of opinion is of little consequence, since Robinson surely found his way to Scrooby, became fully identified with the Scrooby church, and there began his pronounced and influential Separatist career. But whether it was with

the church on the Trent, or the church on the Ryton, that he first became connected, he subscribed to the same covenant, and entered into the same vows, and staked all on the issue. "Whatsoever it should cost" was the spirit and pledge in which he took the step.

It is not clear just when Robinson came into the pastorate of the Scrooby church. But be the time when it may

Beloved
pastor of
Scrooby
church

and the place where it may, the mutual respect and affection entertained by Robinson and his people were very marked. Bradford says: "Such was the mutual love and reciprocal respect that this worthy man had to his flock, and his flock to him, that it might be said of them as it once was of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and the people of Rome, that it was hard to judge whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor. His love was great towards them, and his care was always bent on their best good, both for soul and body; for besides his singular ability in divine things, wherein he excelled, he was also very able to give directions in civil affairs, and to foresee dangers and inconveniences; by which means he was very helpful to their outward estates, and so was every way a common father unto them."

So far, however, as residence and work at Scrooby are concerned, it was only a very brief and limited opportunity which Robinson had for aiding the people and that the people had for receiving benefit from his presence. The same bitterness of intolerance and hate and the same ingenuity and persistence in persecution with which Separatists were followed in London and Norwich, and wherever else they were known to exist, were measured out to them in this quiet little hamlet of Nottinghamshire. It was at a later period that his associates in exile and the members of his flock came to know him in the fulness of his manly qualities, in the tenderness and fidelity of his ministry, and in the patience and wisdom which fitted him so admirably to be their leader. The question has been debated whether in the migration from Scrooby the leadership belonged to Clyfton or Robinson. The real question is not this, but

whether it belonged to Brewster or Robinson. After the flight from England the question ceases to be debatable. The impression made by the whole narrative, and all the side-lights of the story, is that from the hour when he reached the full pastorate, whether at Scrooby or Amsterdam or Leyden, until the hour of his lamented death, Robinson was both the nominal and the actual head of the company. This will become more and more evident as the story unfolds.

X

The four persons considered in the preceding paragraphs were the chief men in the Scrooby fellowship. Unfortunately they are the only ones of whom we have much knowledge. Even in these instances we have seen at how many points important information is lacking. There were others — the followers of these leaders and their associates in faith and suffering — brave men and true; but in regard to the most of them we know little or nothing. Dexter names Richard Jackson, Robert Rochester, Francis Jessop, and Gervase Neville, as members of the Scrooby company to whom "brief allusions" are made. These "brief allusions," however, cover at most only a very few facts; and the knowledge to be gained of them from delving in dusty archives, and deciphering deeds and certificates and family registers and records of one sort and another is provokingly meager. The large majority of them were obscure people. They were without wealth, without learning, and without social, political, or ecclesiastical standing. They would have lived and died in an obscurity so utter that no antiquarian, not to say historian, would ever have thought of seeking to know so much about them as their names even, had they not identified themselves with a great cause, and by heroic struggles and fortitude demonstrated to the world the inherent nobleness of their natures.

XI

Here we come upon the secret of these Scrooby men. This is where we get our measure of their real qualities.

The explanation of these men It is not in things outward, but in things inward,—ideas, intuitions, aspirations, high resolves. It cuts no figure that they were farmers — “plain farmers,” as we should say.

There were other farmers in England, “plain,” and “gentlemen,”—others then, and others before and afterwards. But farmers who had ceased to be “plain” and become “gentlemen” farmers do not seem in virtue of that fact to have counted for any more in the great political and moral conflicts of the age. It is the “plain” farmers rather than the other kind who have often been the significant factors in hard contests. Was it not “plain” farmers “embattled,” who “fired the shot heard round the world,” of whom Emerson sings?

The wonder is often expressed that men with so little learning as the larger section of these people had should have comprehended the issue so clearly and been so splendidly equal to the emergency. Why wonder? If learning is so essential and so assuring of right views and attitudes, why were not the great masters of learning and the great centers of learning on the right side in the controversies of those stormy days? The leaders were educated, and it was of all consequence that they should be; but both the leaders and their followers were dominated by other influences than mere learning.

It is no ground of surprise, either, that men without social recognition should have taken so bold a step and accomplished so much. Social recognition would have been more likely to make them acquiescent and contented with things as they were. The aristocracy of the realm came and went and made no sign. It was nothing to them that the machinery of state and church was running badly; that the water was low in the stream, that the bands were loose, that cog and mesh were not a fit, and that the finished products were of a low grade. They were at ease; why fret about such

trifles as injustice to the masses, freedom cramped and hindered, manhood crushed, and life rendered abortive?

The world ought long ago to have learned that it is precisely from such people as these at Scrooby — people with intelligent, well-instructed, and unselfish leaders, while they themselves are sufficiently informed and have enough resolution to follow their leaders — that such movements as the Pilgrim movement may be expected to originate. These men opened their minds and hearts to God. They set their consciences to the key of the Ten Commandments. They listened to the voice which spoke to them out of the cloud. They read the Sermon on the Mount, and applied its great teachings to their daily lives. They interpreted their own instincts and longings in the interest of the rights of man. They put Christ above bishops and the moral law above kings. Their thoughts and aims and aspirations exalted them. They were a humble body of yeomen; but they were wiser than James I. In an hour that was big with fate they saw into things more clearly than did Parliament. They had a keener and more vital understanding of the Scriptures than did the foremost ecclesiastics of the land. It is three centuries since Scrooby; but in the management of church affairs, in adequate provision for public schools, and in overcoming class distinctions and prejudices, England is not yet up to that little group of rustics who used to meet for worship in the old manor house, and whom a foolish and headstrong Stuart "harried out of the kingdom." The fact to be noted is not that these exiles from their native shores were ordinary men, about equal to the average or a little above; but that ordinary men, under proper stimulation and guidance, are capable of great thoughts and heroic deeds.

V

THE ESCAPE TO HOLLAND

Blessed are they that have been persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

The Pilgrims separated Church and State. They believed in the right and power of Christian people to govern themselves, and they believed this when, even in England, it was dangerous to breathe such an idea. They were hunted out of their home-land into the Dutch Republic, where conscience was free. — WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

We can hardly realize a condition of society in which law itself was struggling for existence; in which everybody and everything was governed by the King's will, and was subordinate and contributory to — the royal satisfaction. — EDWARD ARBER.

Why did they suffer the spoiling of their goods, arrest, imprisonment, exile? Their only crime was that, while they rendered to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, they would not render to Cæsar the things that were God's. They had caught from the Bible the idea of a church independent alike of the pope and the queen, independent of Parliament as well as of prelates, and dependent only on Christ. It was their mission to work out and organize the idea; and, in so doing, they wrought and suffered for their posterity in all ages and for the world. — LEONARD BACON.

And that it cost them something this ensuing history will declare.

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

V

THE ESCAPE TO HOLLAND

IT is difficult to picture to our minds a condition of affairs in any civilized country in which a group of people like these Separatists at Scrooby should not have been congratulated on their exemplary living, solicited to remain and pursue their several callings without let or hindrance, and surrounded with influences fitted to promote their welfare and happiness, instead of being forced to forsake their homes, abandon scenes and associations which were so sacred to their hearts, and give up their most cherished worldly prospects. It is still more difficult to persuade ourselves that this state of things existed, not in Turkey, but in England — the home of our state-building ancestors, and the fountainhead, in spite of all the tyranny and injustice and persecution which have stained the pages of its history, of many of the noblest conceptions of justice and fair play, and the best inspirations to liberty which the modern world has known.

But peaceful though they were, and diligent, clean-handed, and upright in character, an honor to the sturdy yeomanry of the land and an appreciable asset in the wealth of the nation, reverent and loyal to the king, and scrupulously law-abiding in all things save that, like Daniel of old and the apostles, they wished to worship God with a sincerity and earnestness which were offensive to those of the realm who were in charge of religious matters, their lives were made intolerable to them. The authorities demanded that they should cease to obey their own intelligent and conscientious convictions in the concerns of the soul, and fall in with forms prescribed for them. They must listen to

preachers imposed upon them by the state, even though these preachers were often too ignorant to preach and too immoral to be respected. They must follow rubrics and rituals out of which, for them at least, all vitality had been lost, and which stood for nothing but superstitious mummeries, lifeless and void. It is not pathetic alone, but an occasion for the hottest kind of righteous indignation, to think of the sore straits to which these men and women were driven, for no other reason than that they wanted to come more completely under the power of the endless life, and be more like Him who is the supreme expression of the divine purity and love.

Had these devout souls gathered at the manor house Sunday after Sunday for purposes of pleasure and revelry they would have been unmolested. Civil functionaries, high ecclesiastics, and subservient parsons would have seen nothing out of the way in the proceeding. To come together to hold communion with God, to be instructed in the Word, to find strength to bear their burdens and comfort to soothe their sorrows, to enter into a more intimate fellowship with their Lord and to lift their lives to higher levels of faith, and a completer comprehension of truth, to learn how to be better and braver and more worthy to be called the children of the Father, was quite another affair, and a stop must be put to it! Hence public officials were turned into spies and charged to be alert and unsparing in doing the bidding of bishop and crown. Culprits like these must be run down and punished to the limit. Nonconformists must be browbeaten into conformity, or suffer the consequences. Laws had been made to stifle soul-freedom; and these laws must be enforced. There was no relief, save in flight, and even against flight bars the most cruel had been erected.

I

Bradford has a number of passages in which he sets forth, after his graphic fashion, the kind of treatment which was accorded to persons who had found their way into the truth of Christ and were trying in their lives and worship to be conformed to his will.

How the
Scrooby
Noncon-
formists
were
treated

The first one is general and has application to men and women of this manner of living and doing wherever they might be discovered.

“When as by the travail and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers, and God’s blessing on their labors, as in other places of the land, so in the north parts, many became enlightened by the word of God, and had their ignorance and sins discovered unto them, and began by His grace to reform their lives, and make conscience of their ways, the word of God was no sooner manifest in them, but presently they were scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude, and the ministers urged with the yoke of subscription, or else must be silenced; and the poor people were so vexed with apparators, pursuants, and the commissarie courts, as truly their affliction was not small; which, notwithstanding, they bore sundry years with much patience, till they were occasioned (by the continuance and increase of their troubles and other means which the Lord raised up in those days) to see further into things by the light of the Word of God.”

For years, and in all parts of the kingdom where they appeared, there was no liberty and no peace for those who sought to discard the “base and beggarly ceremonies” which were imposed upon them by the ecclesiastical authorities, and who refused to submit to “the lordly and tyrannous power of the prelates,” as “unlawful and antichristian.”

The passage which is to follow has more particular reference to the state of affairs at Scrooby, after the brethren had been associated for a twelvemonth, and were on the eve of making their desperate venture to get away.

“But after these things they could not long continue in

any peaceable condition; but were hunted and persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as flea-bitings in comparison of these which were come upon them. For some were taken and clapped up in prison, others had their houses beset and watched night and day, and hardly escaped their hands; and the most were fain to fly and leave their houses and habitations, and the means of their livelihood. Yet these and many other sharper things which afterwards befell them, were no other than they looked for, and therefore were the better prepared to bear them by the assistance of God's grace and Spirit. Yet seeing themselves thus molested, and that there was no hope of their continuance there, by a joint counsel they resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men; as also how sundry from London, and other parts of the land, had been exiled and persecuted for the same cause, and were gone thither, and lived at Amsterdam and in other places of the land. So after they had continued together about a year, and kept their meetings every Sabbath in one place or the other, exercising the worship of God amongst themselves, notwithstanding all the diligence and malice of their adversaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in that condition, they resolved to get over into Holland as they could, which was in the year 1607 and 1608."

II

This resolution cost these about-to-be exiles many a sharp and bitter pang. It is to be remembered that the Puritans, so Mather tells us, who arrived in Salem in 1629, on leaving the homes in which they had been nourished and all the associations of their former years, so far forgot their sufferings and persecutions that they were ready to exclaim, not, "Farewell Babylon! Farewell Rome!" but "Farewell, dear England!" To these Pilgrims who were the forerunners of the Puritans in their flight from the home-land to America, England, we may be sure, was "dear" England. "To leave their

native soil and country, their lands and livings, and all their friends and familiar acquaintance," was "much;" and by many it was thought to be "marvelous." But there were embarrassments far more practical than any springing from mere sentiment. In going into Holland they were going into a country of which they were all — with the exception of Brewster — totally ignorant, save what had come to them through hearsay. They must learn a new language, get their living they knew not how, pay far more than they had been accustomed to do for whatever they bought, and expose themselves to all the miseries of war. No wonder "many thought" this "an adventure almost desperate, a case intolerable, and a misery worse than death." "But these things did not dismay them; though they did sometimes trouble them; for their desires were set on the ways of God, and to enjoy his ordinances; but they rested on His providence, and knew whom they had believed."

It required two systematic attempts, and then a good deal of effort of the promiscuous sort, to accomplish the final transfer of the Scrooby church from exposure to the cruel storms of England to the kindly shelter of Holland. It was a strange situation. The irony of it was that the Dissenters and Separatists, though an intelligent and devout and exceptionally worthy people, were allowed neither to stay nor to go in peace. Or to state it in the exact and pathetic language of Bradford: "Though they could not stay, yet were they not suffered to go: but the ports and havens were shut against them, so as they were fain to seek secret means of conveyance, and to bribe and fee the mariners, and give extraordinary rates for their passages." For there was a law of England that no one could go out of the country without license from the king. There was also a law — from 1593 to 1598, a specific statute, after that a purpose in influential and official circles quite as potent as written enactments — to the effect that incorrigible Nonconformists must leave the realm. The alternatives were submission to all ecclesiastical requirements or quitting the kingdom. At the same time here was this other law forbidding going abroad without permission from the king.

The first plan of getting away was for a large company of them to embark from old Boston, a seaport town, on the Witham, fifty or sixty miles distant. This was in the autumn — probably October — of 1607. A suitable ship was chartered, agreement was made with the master to be ready on an appointed day, and preparations went on in accordance with this arrangement. The Idle, one of the two rivers near the manor house, was navigable for a part of the way; and it is quite likely that the women, children, and luggage were sent by water as far as Gainsborough. At any rate, this is Arber's conjecture. The men, or so many as were not needed to accompany the boat down the Idle, might easily reach their destination on foot. All went as planned with the exiles. But the vessel was not at hand at the appointed date. The party had to wait — with what anxiety it is easy to imagine — for a long time, and to be at heavy extra expense in consequence of waiting. At length the captain appeared; under cover of darkness the would-be emigrants got themselves and their stuff on board the ship; and then, when morning broke and they thought the way clear for the successful carrying out of their project, they were all betrayed by the miserable scoundrel with whom they had conducted their negotiations and whom they trusted.

It would be an injustice to the reader, who may not have ready access to Bradford's book, not to reproduce his account of this affair: "But when he had them and their goods aboard, he betrayed them, having beforehand conspired with the searchers and other officers to do so; who took them, and put them into open boats, and there rifled and ransacked them, searching them to their shirts for money, yea, even the women further than became modesty: and then carried them back into the town, and made them a spectacle and wonder to the multitude, which came flocking on all sides to behold them. Being thus first, by the catchpole officers, rifled and stripped of their money, books, and much other goods, they were presented to the magistrates, and messengers were sent to inform the lords of the Council of them, and so they were committed to ward. Indeed the magistrates used them courteously, and showed them what favor they could, but could not deliver them, till order came

from the Council-table. But the issue was that after a month's imprisonment, the greatest part were dismissed, and sent to the places from whence they came; but seven of the principal were still kept in prison, and bound over to the Assizes."

Who these "seven" were is not known, save that Brewster was one, and that Robinson and Bradford were likely to have been two others. But whoever they were, these "seven" were worthy to be enrolled along with another "seven" of whom we read in the Book of Acts, who were "men of good report, full of the Spirit and of wisdom."

To have been baffled and turned back in this way must have been a severe disappointment to these people, and their pecuniary loss must have been great; but they remained as trustful in God, and as brave and determined as ever.

In the spring — April, it is thought — of the following year, 1608, a second effort was made to escape from the trials and persecutions to which Separatists were exposed in their own home-land. This time another program was adopted. Instead of trying to work out by way of Boston and the mouth of the Witham, the leaders seem to have concluded that there was more chance of success by going in the direction of Hull and the Humber. Women and children, with the goods, were to be placed, as before, on some sort of transportation craft, and floated down the Idle, as far as Gainsborough, to the Trent; there they were to be transferred to a small bark, but suitable for the purpose, and taken down the Trent to its confluence with the Humber, thirty miles away, and then down the Humber and along the coast to a point settled upon, and now believed to be the haven of East Halton Skitter. The men of the party were to walk, and to meet the women and children at the time and place designated.

This apparently was the scheme. The attempt to execute it involved these earnest souls in a fresh disaster. The bargain was made with a Dutch master of Zealand, found in the port of Hull, who owned the ship he sailed, and who gave satisfactory assurances that he would keep his word and meet their expectations. We have seen what the plan was. "But," as Bradford tells us, "it so fell out, that they

were there a day before the ship came, and the sea being rough, and the women very sick, prevailed with the seamen to put into a creek hard by, where they lay on the ground at low water. The next morning the ship came, but they were fast and could not stir until about noon. In the meantime, the ship master, perceiving how the matter was, sent his boat to be getting the men aboard whom he saw ready, walking about the shore. But after the first boat full was got aboard, and she was ready to go for more, the master espied a great company, both horse and foot, with bills and guns and other weapons; for the country was raised to take them. The Dutchman seeing that, swore his country's oath — 'sacramento' — and having the wind fair, weighed anchor, hoist sails, and away." Thus were the hopes of these smitten Pilgrims blasted once more, and their well-wrought plans brought to naught.

Immediately the plight of both parties — those in the vessel and those on shore — became pitiable in the extreme. The men were taken out to sea; but instead of a quick and safe voyage into port, the ship ran into a terrific storm. One who has had any experience of rough weather on the German Ocean can well understand what that must have meant. In a passage in an excellent steamer, only a few years since, from Newcastle to Bergen, when the winds were only moderately severe, and the waves were far from being mountain high, the captain was heard to exclaim at dinner: "Well, this is a fine show! Eighty on board, and only five at the table!" Had he delayed his remark for about one minute, the number he named would have been not five, but four. The storm into which the ship which bore so many of the men of the Pilgrim company ran lasted for seven days, and it took fourteen days to reach land. During half this time, or the days upon which the storm was upon them, "They neither saw sun, moon, nor stars, and were driven near the coast of Norway; the mariners themselves often despairing of life; and once with shrieks and cries gave over all, as if the ship had been foundered in the sea, and then sinking without recovery." Bradford himself, to whom the world is indebted for the facts, was on board of this ship, and in those days and nights of fearful hardship and peril,

when he and others of like faith were driven to their knees in prayer, he must often have thought of Paul and his experiences of shipwreck and deliverance so long ago in the tumultuous waters of the angry Mediterranean.

But if those who were borne out to sea were forced to encounter darkness and the fierce assaults of swollen waves, those who remained behind fared but little better. The "great company of both horse and foot, with bills and guns and other weapons," whom the master of the ship saw bearing down on them, soon had the most of these surprised exiles in their grasp. Some of the men — those in all probability who knew it would be fatal for them to be caught — made good their escape; but others of them, with the women and children, were apprehended. Once more it shall be left to Bradford to tell the tale: "Pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in this distress: what weeping and crying on every side, some for their husbands that were carried away in the ship, others not knowing what should become of them and their little ones; others again melted in tears, seeing their poor little ones hanging about them, crying for fear, and quaking with cold. Being thus apprehended, they were hurried from one place to another, and from one justice to another, till in the end they knew not what to do with them; for to imprison so many women and innocent children for no other cause but that they must go with their husbands, seemed to be unreasonable and all would cry out upon them; and to send them home again was as difficult, for they alleged, as the truth was, that they had no homes to go to, for they had either sold, or otherwise disposed of their homes and livings. To be short, after they had been thus turmoiled a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be rid of them in the end on any terms; for all were wearied and tired of them. Though in the meantime they — poor souls — endured misery enough; and thus in the end necessity forced a way for them."

III

This was the last attempt made by the Pilgrims to cross over from England to Holland in a body. A few of the men, after their perilous voyage of fourteen days, were there already. It was deemed wiser for the others to follow them in the same fashion in which they had been wont to go to their gatherings in the manor house—not in groups, but one by one, or by twos and threes.

Effort to reach Hol-land suc-cessful
In this way they would escape observation and accomplish their purpose. So it was. “And in the end, notwithstanding all the storms of opposition, they all got over at length, some at one time and some at another, and some in one place and some in another, and met together again according to their desires, with no small rejoicing.”

A fresh reading in its details of the exodus of the Pilgrims from England to Holland only serves to deepen the surprise and indignation which was expressed in the opening words of this chapter. There are no words hot and sharp enough to express the folly and wickedness of expelling such a people from the land. But how sublime the faith, how superb the courage, how lofty and complete the devotion which would lead men and women to endure all these hardships and make all these sacrifices, and yet not flinch, but go straight on in testimony of their regard for conscience and their loyalty to God! So long as pain excites pity in the human breast, and tyranny arouses protest and resistance, and exhibitions of resolute courage and heroic self-sacrifice stir enthusiasm, what these men and women did in turning their backs on the homes of their childhood, and the land they cherished, and giving up so large a part of their possessions and escaping across the sea to a foreign country, will be found worthy of the constant and everlasting remembrance of a grateful and reverent posterity. Robinson has his memorial in the church at Gainsborough and the tablet at Leyden. Congregationalists in Great Britain and America ought to unite in erecting a suitable monument to the exiles at Scrooby.

VI

EXPERIENCES AT AMSTERDAM

The splendid empire of Charles the Fifth was erected upon the grave of liberty. It is a consolation to those who have hope in humanity to watch, under the reign of his successor, the gradual but triumphant resurrection of the spirit over which the sepulchre had so long been sealed. From the handbreadth of territory called the province of Holland rises a power which wages eighty years' warfare with the most potent empire upon earth, and which, during the progress of the struggle, becoming itself a mighty state — finally dictates its decrees to the Empire of Charles.

JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY.

This small territory, invaded first by different tribes of Germanic races, subdued by the Romans and by the Franks, devastated by the Danes and the Normans, and wasted for centuries by terrible civil wars — preserved its civil freedom and liberty of conscience — against the formidable monarchy of Philip II and founded a republic which became the ark of salvation for the freedom of all peoples. — EDMONDO DE AMICIS.

Holland was the anvil upon which religious and civil liberty was beaten out in Europe at a time when the clang was scarcely heard anywhere else. We can never forget our historical debt to that Country and to these people. Puritan, Independent, Huguenot, whoever he may be, forced to flee for conscience's sake, will not forget that in the Netherlands there was found in his time of need the asylum where conscience, property and person might be secure. — THOMAS F. BAYARD.

The Dutch were the first to permit, and to acknowledge religious toleration. — J. E. T. ROGERS.

VI

EXPERIENCES AT AMSTERDAM

HOLLAND was the only country to which the Pilgrims in their sore straits of persecution could flee.

It was the only country near enough to be easily accessible; and it was the only country which was open to their approach. They were less than fifty miles from the coast, and when once on the shore nothing but the North Sea separated them from a people who had fought out the fight of freedom, and were living in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. Under the Dutch flag, as has been said before, one might think his own thoughts, utter his own opinions, or do this more freely than in any other of the leading nations, and worship God in any way, provided he kept within proper ethical limits, which met the demands of his own reason and moral sense.

To men whose efforts to reform their lives and put conscience into their conduct, and shape their characters according to the standards of the Master, exposed them to the scoffs and scorn of the "profane multitude," a people with such a spirit and a land with such laws must have made a strong appeal. Still stronger must have been the appeal when the attempts of these same men to get together for the study of the Word, and for mutual edification in worship rendered them obnoxious to enactments of Parliament and liable to arrest and imprisonment by "apparators and pursuants and the commissarie courts." When the stress of necessity was upon them, it was only natural that this little company of ill-used and persecuted disciples of our Lord should seek the shelter of a state in which the emphasis of legislation was placed so largely on the civil and religious rights of the individual. Holland was at once a refuge for the oppressed and a school of instruction for those who would be experts in the practise of freedom. The

victims of injustice and intolerance, whether in Catholic France or Protestant England, found here the opportunity which they sought for unmolested worship. Descendants of the Pilgrims and citizens of our Republic may well hold the Dutch in most grateful remembrance.

I

Why the exiles, driven from their native land, went to Holland has just been stated. But why **Reasons for going to Amsterdam** did they choose to settle at Amsterdam in preference to any other town or city which they might have selected? There were several reasons for this choice, and all of these combined easily determined their action.

Amsterdam, in all probability, was better known to the Pilgrims than any other city of Holland. It had been a city of growing importance for more than three hundred and fifty years. It was admitted **Amsterdam well known** to membership in the United Provinces in 1578. Soon after this it became the foremost commercial center of Europe. For upwards of a century it continued to hold this leading position. News traveled slowly in those days, and knowledge of what was going on in the world was limited; but Brewster and the others who were at the front in this band of exiles were well informed concerning the wonderful metropolis on the Amstel.

Amsterdam, at the time when the Scrooby Separatists were obliged to seek shelter in a foreign land from the fierce storm of persecution which had broken upon them in the home-land, was conspicuous for its **Amsterdam was tolerant** hospitality to men of all creeds and nationalities. The toleration for which Holland stood was here exemplified in its most advanced stages. Commerce and trade had quickened the intelligence of the people, widened their interests and sympathies, and made them in all best senses more liberal. Intercourse with all sorts and conditions of men had given them a keener appreciation of soul-liberty as well as civil liberty. There

was an element of business shrewdness in it. Merchants and manufacturers had found it to their pecuniary advantage to let industrious, God-fearing workmen come within their borders. It was not all selfishness, however. The spirit of a wise catholicity and a broad statesmanship was behind the policy and dictated it. One of the long-honored officials of the city, so Dexter tells us, took the ground that "no magistrate has authority in matters of faith," and insisted that "the wisest course would be 'to disturb no man on account of his conscience.'" This was asserted to be an "ancient custom" of the city. Dear old Andrew Marvell, who thought this wide religious toleration a fine theme for satire, was paying a higher tribute than he knew when he wrote:

"Hence Amsterdam, Turk-Christian-Pagan-Jew,
Staple of sects, and mint of schism grew;
That bank of conscience, where not one so strange
Opinion but finds credit, and exchange."

It is no wonder that the exiles sought the shelter of a community so eminently hospitable to free thought.

II

Amsterdam, being a city of much wealth and of wide and increasing business activities, would be likely to furnish better chances for earning a living than any other place to which they might go. They were fleeing to a foreign land, and were to cast their lot among strangers. No one of the company was rich. The most of them were poor. All of them, no doubt, had made sacrifices in the sale of their properties, while many of them must have been despoiled of no small portion of their earthly goods by the officials who were "harrying" them out of the kingdom. They could not afford to lie idle, and they had no disposition to do so. To become objects of charity would have been an offense to their self-respect. They were without the capital and the necessary experience to enter into successful competition with those who were well established in business. Necessity was upon them to

do something. With their own hands they must secure shelter, food, and clothing. It was wise to pitch their tents where opportunities to meet their pressing needs were most abundant. This is what they did. No other place was so promising.

III

A further attraction of Amsterdam, we must believe, was the considerable number of English-speaking people who were already on the ground. The facts just recited — the accessibility of the place, the wide reputation it enjoyed for hospitality to all faiths, and the exceptional facilities it afforded for earning a livelihood — had been controlling influences in determining the choice of this city as the refuge to which persecuted Englishmen should escape. At an earlier period it had been Antwerp and other continental towns to which men, hunted and bruised for the opinions they held, hastened for safety. In the more recent years it had been this wide-awake and tolerant Amsterdam. Not a few of the choice subjects of Elizabeth and James within the last decade and a half had crossed the German Ocean and found here the precious freedom for which they longed and prayed.

The presence of these earlier comers who held the same views and cherished the same aims, who had passed through the same trying experiences and paid the same bitter cost for their liberty, and who spoke the same mother tongue, added to the considerations already named, would be an argument of much weight in the minds of the Scrooby exiles for settling down in this renowned mart of trade. In taking up life in the midst of a people of "strange and uncouth language," and of different "manners and customs," and of "fashions and attires" to which they were not used, though "these were not the things they much looked on," it must have been a comforting thought that there were others beside the members of their own immediate party with whom they could hold familiar intercourse, and



THE LITTLE STREET OF THE BROWNISTS, AMSTERDAM



IN AMSTERDAM

through whom — some of them having been long enough in the country to learn its speech — they might talk to the native-born of the land and both understand and be understood.

As has just been intimated, there was a pretty large contingent of English-speaking people, who had been driven from their homes for conscience' sake, at this time in Amsterdam. The movement in this direction had been going on for a dozen years or more. In 1595 a section of Francis Johnson's church at Southwark had found its way from London to this city. It took two years to accomplish the journey, for the start was made in 1593. The members of this advance detachment were poor. They set out from prisons, though they had been locked up, not for their crimes, but for their faith and their way of expressing it. The doors of confinement were opened to them on condition that they would leave the realm. Their first attempt at settlement after crossing the North Sea was at Campen. From there they went to Naarden. In both towns the local magistrates had to render them pecuniary assistance. At length the pioneer contingent reached Amsterdam. In course of time the pastor, released from prison and banished for life, joined those of his flock who had reached the city before him.

IV

After this manner a smitten and exiled company of believers was brought together in this foreign land. With Johnson still its pastor, and Ainsworth, who had been serving as pastor until Johnson arrived, chosen to be its teacher, it kept up its continuity for years and passed into history as the "Ancient Church." At length this Amsterdam church disappeared. But it is an interesting fact that the section of the original church in London which remained on the ground, though scattered and peeled, became the nucleus of a new church which persists unto this day. They were "the hidden ones who had maintained their fidelity to the cause through years of persecution." They were "what remained of that martyr church which,

Naarden

after giving Greenwood, Barrowe, and Penry to the gallows, had been driven into exile." Henry Jacob — a man who had passed through many inward and outward conflicts in coming to the conviction that he ought to be a Separatist — gathered this dispersed people and others along with them together and became their pastor. It is known to-day as the church of the "Pilgrim Fathers."

Some time in 1606, or about a couple of years before the Scrooby exodus occurred, John Smyth led the major part of the Gainsborough Separatists over to Amsterdam. These were well known to the more recent comers. They had been their near neighbors and associates in worship. It must have been good to meet them once more and talk over their common experiences and hopes.

V

With so many things apparently in their favor and to their liking in the stirring and tolerant city to which they had migrated, why did the Pilgrims think it wiser to leave Amsterdam and go to Leyden? With old friends about them, with fellow-sufferers for associates, with full liberty to worship God as their own consciences, enlightened by the Scriptures and quickened by the Spirit, directed, and with ample chances for self-support, what more could they want? Were they getting restless? Were the excitements of a fresh removal necessary to their happiness? Far from it. These men were impelled by two good and sufficient motives to the step they took.

The first was a desire to be secure in the enjoyment of peace. They had inward peace — the peace that passeth all understanding; but they wanted outward peace. It became evident that they could not have it where they were. Bradford has made this clear in his statement of the reasons for their removal. "When they had lived at Amsterdam about a year, Mr. Robinson, their pastor, and some others of the best discerning, seeing how Mr. John Smith and his company was already fallen into

Why the
Pilgrims
left Am-
sterdam

To be secure
in enjoy-
ment of
peace

contention with the church that was there before them, and no means they could use would do any good to cure the same, and also that the flames of contention were like to break out in the ancient church itself (as afterwards lamentably came to pass); which things they prudently foreseeing, thought it was best to remove, before they were any way engaged with the same; though they well knew it would be much to the prejudice of their outward estate, both at present and in likelihood in the future — as indeed it proved to be."

As this quotation indicates, sharp differences of view and alienations had already cropped out in the group of Separatists which had gathered at Amsterdam. This is only what might have been expected. Moral reforms have a wonderful fascination, not only for careful, intelligent, and earnest well-wishers of their kind, but for a certain type of sincere but impulsive and unmanageable people. Every movement for bettering conditions in church and state and social life is sure to attract to itself more or less adherents who are best characterized by the designation "cranks." They are not fools. They are not knaves. They are honest, and athrob in every fiber of their being with good intentions, but their minds are not well ballasted. They have more enthusiasm than judgment. They easily degenerate into fanatics, and do more harm than good to the cause they espouse. They lack perspective and fail to distinguish between points of little consequence and points of all consequence. They become either quarrelsome or quixotic, and sometimes both.

The Separatists of Scrooby were remarkable for their freedom from the plague of opinionated and eccentric characters. They were as strong in their purposes as fate, but they were sane and sensible. Incidental matters did not disturb their poise and divert them from their main end. The Separatists who preceded them to the Low Countries and settled in Amsterdam were not so fortunate. Their leaders were neither so clear-headed nor so well-balanced as Robinson and Brewster and the young but wise Bradford. Hence, small jealousies and open antagonisms and

the promise of anything but harmony. This is the pity of it; for some of these men had fine qualities and records to command admiration.

VI

Francis Johnson was a marked personality, and his story is one of thrilling interest. He was a Yorkshire man, born at Richmond in 1562. He studied at Cambridge and became a fellow of Christ's College. He entered the ministry, but soon came to hold advanced views on the subject of church government. Indeed, while a young man of only twenty-eight, he preached a sermon on this subject, which gave such offense to the ecclesiastical authorities that he was arrested and cast into prison. He promised to take back what he had said and was liberated. The retraction, when publicly made, was not satisfactory to the officials, and the offender was expelled from the university and returned to prison. A strong petition by influential friends at Cambridge secured his release. He crossed over to Middelberg and became the pastor of a Puritan church.

But though zealous for Puritanism, he was still a Puritan and not a Separatist. So far was he from being a Separatist that he was ready to do all in his power to thwart the aims of those who felt it to be their duty to come out from the Established Church and stand by themselves. A treatise written by Barrowe and Greenwood while imprisoned in the Fleet, in defense of their views and attitude, was being printed on the continent. The work, while in press, fell under the eye of Johnson. He took it for granted that the book was full of error, and secured the authority of the magistrates to commit the entire edition to the flames. Two copies of the obnoxious publication escaped. One of them he had the curiosity to read. He became convinced that the position taken by the authors was right. To make assurance doubly sure he went back to England, sought an interview with the authors while they were still in jail, took the side they advocated, joined the despised and ostracized fellowship in London of which

the two imprisoned writers were members, and was chosen pastor of the flock. It was in this way that he became a Separatist, and later, and after various experiences, an exile at Amsterdam.

This brief outline of his career is enough to make it evident that Johnson was a man of honest mind, quick impulses, brave heart, and deep convictions. He was obedient to the heavenly vision. But he was impatient of restraint, inclined to have his own way, and not wise enough to avoid humiliating and disastrous quarrels. He could not get on well with his brother George, and he allowed the style of his wife's dress to drift into discussion and become a divisive element in the church. Hardships, trials, imprisonments, banishment, the loss of earthly goods and the alienation of cherished friends wrought no changes in his ideas and purposes. At the same time he was sure to be a storm-center in all current controversies and a disturber of the equanimity of his friends as well as his foes. He had the insight and courage of a reformer, but not the skill and patience to be a successful leader.

Besides, the proper form of government for a church interested Johnson at Amsterdam as it had at Cambridge, and his notions on the subject were of a kind and so pronounced that he and Robinson would hardly have been able to see eye to eye. He claimed independence for the local church, but he thought the local church ought to be under the control of a body of elders. He rejected the Congregational theory of Browne and adopted the Presbyterian theory of Barrowe, his teacher in Separatism. Thus all the tendencies of his mind were in a direction which diverged more and more from the path along which the Scrooby exiles were moving. Take it all in all, a discerning eye could discover a large stock of material for future controversy in the habit and temper of this one man.

VII

John Smyth is supposed to have been a native of Gainsborough, but neither the place in which he was born, nor the date of his birth, is definitely known. He was graduated at Cambridge and became a fellow of Christ's College. He had many fine qualities. Bradford declares that he "was an eminent man in his time, and a good preacher, and of other good parts." But the same kindly author felt obliged to add: "His inconsistency and unstable judgment, and being so suddenly carried away with things, did soon overthrow him." Robinson, in his "Dissuasions Against Separatism Considered" devotes two lines to him; but these two lines have in them not so much the benumbing effect of a blow as the sharp thrust of the sting of a bee. "His instability and wantonness of wit is his sin and our cross." It is not easy to characterize such a man and keep steadily in mind his commendable traits and real services. He had a fertile brain, a conscience quickly responsive to what he conceived to be truth and duty, and pluck to match. Nothing daunted him. But while he saw some things clearly he had only confused and distorted notions of some other things. He was unselfish. His sincerity was never called in question. His career, however, was tortuous. He was one of those minds which seem to be more attracted by a plausible conjecture than by a solid argument. He led his followers out of bondage to a corrupt church and a cruel government; but he did not stop there. He kept leading them until he had them all in the bogs and quicksands of unreasonable conceits. His scholarly attainments were considerable. He became an author early in life. His writings show both capacity and earnestness, but the tendency of fanaticism was strong in his nature, and it appears to have been easy for him to wander off into all sorts of strange vagaries. Consistency was no jewel in his estimation. Dexter says of him that he "was unusually hospitable to plausible new views of religion, and had an almost chivalric willingness to adopt them, wherever they might

lead, which amounted to little less than recklessness. In England he had vacillated so that Ainsworth said he had published 'three sundry books wherein he hath shewed himself of three several religions; and in another book had so contradicted himself that there was little need of another man's sword to pierce the bowels of his error, when his own hand fighteth against himself.' "

First and last, Smyth fathered many a strange notion. Some of his conceits were worthy of the genius of insanity. He began his caprices by charging that it was a sin to use the English Bible in worship. Nothing but the original Hebrew and Greek would satisfy him. From this he advanced to the opinion that it was improper and wrong to have the Scriptures open before the eye while preaching, or the psalm while singing. The open book, so he contended, destroyed the spirituality of the worship. To be acceptable everything must be from the heart and by heart. This position was assumed and this controversy was sprung upon the Separatist churches only a short time before the arrival of the Scrooby people in Amsterdam.

A greater surprise was in store. Shortly after the coming of the Pilgrims to the city Smyth changed his views on baptism. He also concluded that the Church had been so out of the way in the past and was so corrupt that it was not worthy to administer the rite. Hence his church was dissolved and a new start was made. Smyth baptized himself — became a Se-Baptist. From a basin he "dipped up water in his hand and poured it over his own forehead in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost." After this ceremony he baptized the others who were of his way of thinking and ready to follow him. Then he had a church to suit him, for he had made it himself. Alas, no! for his next discovery was that he and his associates had been rash in their action, since there could be no valid "administration of baptism and other ordinances" until the church was duly officered. So things went at rapid pace from bad to worse until in no long time, as might have been foreseen, Smyth's church came to an end and his impracticable and foolish schemes melted into thin air. He died a couple of years or so afterwards, and found his grave in the city

of his adoption. Unfortunately he is not the only man in history of pronounced ability and irreproachable character over whom we are obliged to mourn because his career was wrecked through lack of common sense.

VIII

Henry Ainsworth, a third man who was prominent in the circle of Separatists who preceded the Pilgrims in going to Amsterdam, was a choice soul. Until recently his birthplace, his age, the institution, if any, at which he studied, were all matters of conjecture. More thorough investigations have brought to light the fact that he was born in Swanton-Morley, in Norfolk, in 1569. He studied for a year at St. John's, Cambridge. At the end of this period he left St. John's and entered Gonville and Caius. He was then eighteen years of age. He did not graduate, but the probabilities are that he spent not less than three years at this college. It is not true, therefore, as has been generally supposed, that he had only limited educational advantages. On the contrary, he was well educated in the schools. This is shown in the eminence he won as a Hebrew scholar and expositor of the Hebrew Scriptures. His notes on the Pentateuch gave him a place in the front rank of commentators on these books of the Old Testament. The latest Revisers found his "Annotations" "a valuable help in their work." Very high praise has been bestowed on his translation of the Psalms. He prepared a copy of the Psalms for singing. As seen in his "Counterpoysen," his controversial writings were clear and strong. Johnson, Smyth, and others among the Amsterdam exiles, were scholars, but when it seemed advisable to turn their Confession of Faith into Latin, Ainsworth was the one chosen for the task.

Independent of his training, or rather as the basis of his training, Ainsworth was a man of exceptional abilities. He had a penetrating insight and clear apprehension. His reading along theological lines and church history was

wide, and his knowledge was varied and accurate. Moreover, he was a man with a will brought into conformity to the divine will, and a mind illuminated by the mind of the Master, and a disposition, naturally sweet, softened and sanctified by the indwelling of the Spirit. He was as true as steel, but he was loving and lovable. His belief that they were right in their contention, and his sympathy with them in their trials and imprisonment and poverty, led him to identify his name and fortune with the section of the Southwark flock which migrated to Holland. Still, amidst all the confusion and wrangling which went on in the churches of Johnson and Smyth, he seems never to have lost his head, nor to have fallen from the grace of good temper.

His very excellences, however, drew him into the strife and made him the leader of a party. He had the sanity which attracted men of sanity to his side, and in a storm, the few who were not panic-stricken felt safer with the helm in his hands. As we have seen, Ainsworth was the pastor of the Ancient Church during the first years of its location in this foreign city. When Johnson arrived he dropped back into the place of teacher. But when the split came he was put at the head of the disaffected party. Still, though he was positive in his opinions and true to them in all emergencies, he carried himself serenely through the heats of these sharp controversies and retained his sound judgment and his unsullied character unto the end. He had the confidence and love of the Scrooby Pilgrims from first to last, and he lived on and bore his testimony until two years after they had reached the shores of America.

Richard Clyfton was drawn into some of these controversies, but though he remained behind when Robinson and his associates went to Leyden, he appears neither to have said nor to have done anything to forfeit the high esteem in which he was held by those who knew him best. Had all been of the good sense and good temper of Ainsworth and Clyfton there would have been no trouble.

Events, however, were ordered otherwise. Human folly as well as human wisdom was to play a part in the progress

of mankind. Once more the wrath of man was to be made to praise the Lord and to promote the interests of his kingdom. Separatists — men who stood out and made all kinds of sacrifices in protest against the evils and corruptions of the Church, and who insisted on the right and power of self-government for the people of God — were to make a spectacle of themselves before the world by their ideas and their scandalous wranglings. It was no place for our Scrooby exiles. If they wanted peace they must gird up their loins and journey on again.

IX

A second motive which influenced the Pilgrims in their purpose to leave Amsterdam and go to Leyden was the strong desire they felt to keep together and maintain the separate identity and unity of their little company.

In this desire we discover two factors, one conscious and the other unconscious. They had their own thought, clear and definite, in the matter; and this thought they held to with a striking tenacity. But over and above this, so we find it well-nigh impossible not to believe, they were in the hands of a Providence which was shaping their ends, giving form to their plans, and in a way quite above their immediate discerning was opening paths along which it would seem wise for them to walk. It has been said by another that "when they took a step they took it with a view to every step that would follow, and they fixed their eyes not on any diversion by the wayside, but on their ultimate destination." This is true. It is true, however, not because these men in the light of their own understanding saw the end from the beginning, but because the divine Forecaster saw it, and directed affairs after such fashion that the choice made by them of a course to pursue in each crisis of their common life should have wise reference to their final triumph. They were warp and woof in God's loom. Unseen hands had shaped the pattern and were throwing the shuttles. The finished web was to be what

the world would admire through all the generations. But it took the two factors of a human purpose and a divine guidance working together to bring it about.

Having said so much, it hardly needs to be added that the Scrooby exiles did not unite with either of the two churches which were on the ground before them, **Maintained** but adhered to their own organization and kept **their own** it intact. They united with the Ancient **organiza-** Church in worship, and appear to have **tion** been edified by the services, but they did not disband and join them. As might have been expected, Johnson's followers contained some unworthy members. Still, Bradford bears testimony to the fact that among them there were "many worthy men," and that in the best days of the church they displayed a "beauty and order" which were admirable. The same thing was true of Smyth's church. There were in it not a few "honest and godly men." There can be no doubt that a large majority of the members in both churches were of this sort — "honest and godly." Had they been wisely led the story of their careers would have been a widely different one. Such, however, was not the case. Both flocks were badly shepherded. In view of the disturbances which had already taken place, and of others likely to occur in the near future, and especially in view of the subtle something in their own souls which controlled and guided them at every critical juncture in their lives and kept them true to their sublime destiny, they stood aloof from the other organizations and preserved their own identity.

On these two grounds, therefore — the peace of their own members and the unbroken continuity of their fellowship — the Scrooby exiles decided to remove from Amsterdam to Leyden.

X

These Pilgrims, however, wise and considerate beyond the men of their day, were not willing to intrude themselves upon a community which was not willing to receive them. When it had been settled by them that it was better to leave Amsterdam and go elsewhere, and when Leyden had been fixed upon as the most eligible place to which they could move, they drew up an application and sent it to the authorities of the city in which they made known their desire to become residents of the town, and respectfully asked if they might do so, and if, in doing so, they might "have the freedom thereof in carrying on their trades." The answer of these sturdy Dutch burgomasters was what might have been anticipated. They declared it to be their policy to "refuse no honest persons free ingress to come and have their residence" in their city; but they added a clause which bristled with significance, and which it would be well if all cities could incorporate in their immigration laws, "provided that such persons behave themselves, and submit to the laws and ordinances." However, the applicants had their request granted, and in most gracious language: "The coming of the memorialists will be agreeable and welcome." This kindly permission must have put heart into the Pilgrims and confirmed them in their purpose and the wisdom of it. They soon left, a hundred strong, "or thereabouts," prophetic of the hundred strong "or thereabouts," who at a later date were to cross the Atlantic in the *Mayflower*, and, turning their backs on the city which had been to them a city of refuge in their dire distress, and of whose hospitality they were never unmindful, they set their faces towards the other city, which had become a renowned center of liberty and learning, and within whose walls they were to receive the training necessary to fit them to become the founders of a free church and a new state in a recently discovered world.

VII

THE PILGRIMS AT LEYDEN

Leyden was at last relieved by William of Orange, who from his sick bed had arranged for the piercing of the dykes and letting in enough water to swim his ships and rout the Spaniards. Out of tribulation comes good. For this constancy and endurance in the siege the Prince offered the people of Leyden one of two benefits—exemption from taxes or the establishment of a university. They took the university. — E. V. LUCAS.

Here, then, in the beautiful city of Leyden, with its famous university and its heroic past, the wanderers, in 1609, found a home. They were few in number, and mostly of obscure origin, so that their story in the land of their adoption would have no historic importance except for the influence exerted on the world by their descendants in America. In view of this influence, however, every detail of their prior life becomes of interest.

DOUGLAS CAMPBELL.

That Leyden afforded not merely hospitality and freedom, but the best school in the world for the training of men in the principles of liberty, and in endurance for the sake of liberty, is beyond question.

ALEXANDER MCKENZIE.

Probably the Pilgrims cared little about conspicuous prosperity or social eminence in Holland. Could they have secured moderate material comfort and an assured opportunity of desirable moral and spiritual development they could have been content in Leyden.

MORTON DEXTER.

VII

THE PILGRIMS AT LEYDEN

IT is with a sense of satisfaction that we contemplate the Pilgrims at Leyden. They have reached a place of safety. They can live in peace. They can get their bearings. With time and opportunity for sober reflection, for comparison of views, and for looking at the question in all its aspects, they can find out whether the steps taken by them seem to have been wise, and whether it is better to hold fast to their purpose and go straight forward, or to change front and beat a retreat.

I

Leyden is a city of remarkable interest. Bradford calls it "fair and beautiful, and of a sweet situation." Motley, it will be remembered, describes the place in terms of enthusiastic admiration. One of the French chroniclers says: "The city of Leyden is, without contradiction, one of the grandest, the comliest, and the most charming cities in the world." An Italian writer of eminence, within the last quarter of a century, speaks of it as "the ancient Athens of the North, the Saragossa of the Low Countries, the oldest and most glorious daughter of Holland." One who has walked its streets, strolled along its canals, and wandered at leisure through its public parks, sat under the shade of its lindens, observed the extreme neatness which everywhere prevails, and passed through the halls of its renowned institutions, can join heartily in these words of praise. At the time of the Pilgrims it had a population of about forty-five thousand.

The city is located in South Holland, on the Old Rhine, a little more than six miles from the North Sea. It is in

Location the midst of towns justly renowned for their historic events and associations. Less than thirty miles, directly east, is Utrecht. Something over twenty, a few points to the east of north, is Amsterdam. Going a bit west of south for a half-dozen miles or so one reaches The Hague; while only a little further away, and more nearly south, is Delft. Not quite so far away as either Utrecht or Amsterdam is Rotterdam, the birthplace of Erasmus. About as far north from Leyden, as Rotterdam is south, is Haarlem — a city which lends the attractiveness of a great past to the circle of distinguished communities in which it is located. It would not be easy to match the region in the center of which the Pilgrims made their temporary home for heroic achievements.

In the days when the story of the Pilgrims was unfolding, these cities were the centers of trade and commerce,

Centers of interest and influence the seats of vast and important industries, and the homes of art and learning. They were the spheres of subtle diplomacy and far-seeing and courageous statesmanship, and their battered walls bore witness to mighty sieges and battles,

to awful onsets and heroic defenses. The influences which the people of these Dutch towns contributed to the progress of civilization were not only potent, but enduring. They are felt to-day wherever industry and thrift are at a premium, and scholarship and esthetic skill are held in honor, and civil liberty and religious freedom are cherished. Travelers who would set foot on spots of permanent and fruitful historic interest cannot afford to omit Leyden and the cities which cluster about it from their European itineraries.

Leyden gets its name, so Dr. Griffis tells us, "from the old Celtic word 'Lugdun,' which means the looking place,

Origin of name or outlook, referring to the great mound as being placed anciently at the junction of the two branches of the Rhine to command both waterways." In the Middle Ages it was called

Leithen. Whether Leyden is really identical with the old *Lugdunum Batavorum* has been called in question. But

this is a matter of small consequence. Without doubt, Batavians, whose spirit of independence and indomitable pluck stirred such enthusiasm in the mind of Motley, and whose prowess the embattled legions of the Eternal City found it so hard to match, once dwelt there. These self-respecting and sturdy tribes, then the Romans, and after these the representatives of the German race were the historic peoples who, in succession, occupied the site of this old and intensely interesting town. The original attraction of the place, whoever may have settled there first, was very clearly its strategic situation. By the erection of this "burg," which served the double purpose of a point of observation and a strong defense, the citizens of the place were enabled to detect from afar the approach of an enemy, and thus to make a timely and effective stand against invasion.

II

Early in the history of Holland members of the ruling and aristocratic classes made Leyden their place of residence. This brought wealth to the town and gave it social and political standing. Manufacturing interests were fostered. The skill of its artisans was celebrated far and wide. Its textile products — more especially its woollens — were in high repute throughout Europe, and commanded the best prices in the market. The upper classes were not only rich, but they were characterized by genuine liberality and an intelligent public spirit. Democracy had not come to its full fruition — far from it; but there was a sense of obligation to the community and a disposition to aid which were highly commendable. Dr. Griffis says once more: "Already, in the Middle Ages, the city was noted for its splendid churches, for its hospitals, its orphan asylums, and its schools, where the poor received instruction free of charge, the schools being supported by public taxation."

The famous St. Peter's Church, the largest church in the city, alike the tomb and the monument of many illustrious

dead, and made still more attractive, if not more famous, in the estimation of Congregationalists throughout the world by bearing on its walls a memorial to **St. Peter's Church** John Robinson, was built and dedicated as early as 1121. Inasmuch as the edifice was rebuilt and greatly enlarged two centuries later, there is confusion about the true date of its construction, and the time is set by some, as above, at 1121, and by others at 1315. One of the features of the building in the early centuries of its existence was its lofty and imposing West Tower, but this fell in 1512.

One has only to go into the museum of the town, and make a little study of the relics and trophies there gathered, to understand how severe have been the struggles and how splendid have been the triumphs through which the old city has passed in the many centuries since it was founded.

There was something, too, in the intellectual and social atmosphere of the community which not only bred self-respect and thrift and a high type of courage, but was especially favorable to the development of the art instinct. **Art** Leyden has been fitly called the "teeming mother of painters." A renowned group of masters of the brush appeared on the scene about the time of the occupancy of the city by the Pilgrims. Rembrandt was a child three years old when these wanderers for principle's sake entered the town. Gerard Douw, a famous pupil of the most famous master of the brush which Holland ever produced, was a boy of only seven summers when Brewster and Bradford and their associates left the shelter of the Dutchland for the shores of America. Jan Steen was born the year after Robinson died. Other distinguished artists were natives of Leyden, but these three, particularly when the surpassing excellence and world-wide renown of the first of the three is taken into consideration, are enough to confer imperishable honor on any city.

III

But the special pride of Leyden at the time the Pilgrims were there, and its glory ever since, was its magnificent university. For a twofold reason it might well be. This university was much in itself, and it had been given to the city, on recommendation of William the Silent, in recognition of the utter self-denial and superb heroism the citizens had shown in resisting the siege of the Spaniards in 1573-74, and starving and dying by hundreds rather than open the gates and surrender to the enemy. This took place only a little more than thirty years before the English exiles made the city their temporary home; and the story of it must still have been a burning theme on many a lip. The walls of this school of learning would be a perpetual reminder both to native inhabitants and strangers of the awful experiences through which the people of the city had only recently passed, and of the magnificent appreciation exhibited by their great and martyred leader of these services and sacrifices. Further on there will be occasion to say more concerning this institution. Only here and now, and once for all, it may be said that the University of Leyden was at the front alike for the learning of its teachers and the number and character of the students who thronged its halls. There was a time when neither Oxford nor Cambridge was in such high repute. The names of Scaliger, Arminius, and Grotius would make any school famous. Andrew D. White, in his autobiography, in speaking of Grotius says: "More than ever it is clear to me that of all books ever written — not claiming divine inspiration — the great work of Grotius on 'War and Peace' has been of most benefit to mankind." Our own John Quincy Adams was once a student in this institution.

IV

On reaching Leyden, the first thing for the exiles to do was to find houses to shelter them. Fortunately, as we have seen, the application made by Robinson and his associates

THE PILGRIMS

for permission to become residents of Leyden was favorably received, so that the little party — about a hundred of them in all — was able to enter the town, not only free from suspicion and prejudice, but with the full approval of the authorities. This good opinion of them which was entertained by the Leyden officials, when they were permitted to come and dwell among them, was never changed.

The probabilities are that the first home of the Pilgrims in Leyden was on St. Ursula Street, in a section which had recently been annexed to the city. This new section lay to the northwest of the old portion of the town, and, like additions to our thrifty and growing American cities, it no doubt afforded better promise to newcomers with small means, and especially to a group of newcomers who wished to keep close together, of finding roofs to cover their heads, than the older and more thickly settled quarters.

By the end of a twelvemonth, however, these Pilgrims had pulled themselves together, and gotten the situation well in hand. A rare property, in a choice location, was put upon the market and they bought it. This purchase was on Kloksteeg, or Bell Alley. The property consisted of a house and garden, only a few steps across the lane from St. Peter's Church, and close to the university and the City Hall. Their new location, therefore, put them at the center of things, and they had a fair chance to work out their destiny. For this estate, secured through the agency of Robinson and three associates, the Pilgrims gave eight thousand guilders. Two thousand guilders were paid down, and the balance of the obligation was secured by mortgage, and met by the payment of five hundred guilders annually. Who among these people had ready cash, or how all of them combined, even by pooling their assets, could get this sum of money together, is not quite clear; but this is what they did. The house purchased appears to have been quite large; and it became the residence of Robinson and the meeting-place of the little flock of which Robinson was the shepherd. Smaller dwellings to the number of twenty-one were soon erected on the vacant part of the lot they had bought, and in a little while the

Pilgrims were clustered about a common court in a compact and homogeneous colony. This is the place that was made historic by the residence of the Pilgrims in Leyden. As long as there are lovers of liberty and of the Congregational Way in the world — this spot will be a shrine to be visited with grateful and sacred awe.

V

Very naturally, on their arrival at Leyden, the means by which they should obtain a livelihood became a question, and a very pressing one, with the Pilgrims.

Settling Though not utterly without resources, as we
down to have just seen, they were yet in straitened cir-
work cumstances, and must needs secure their subsis-
 tence by toil of some sort. What could they do

and what was open to them? They were not professional men. They were not trained scholars. They were not skilled artisans. Of those who came from Scrooby to Leyden no one, except William Brewster, would appear to have had much business experience. They were a rural people, familiar, all of them no doubt, with ordinary agricultural pursuits, and some of them, too, with such small trades — carpentering and smithing, for instance — as would naturally grow up in a country community. But to what pecuniary advantage could this knowledge be turned in a city? There was nothing for them but to fall in with the ways of the people, and learn to do what they were doing, and turn their hands to whatever remunerative employment circumstances might offer.

Speaking in general of the difficulties which confronted them when they first “came into the Low Countries,”

Difficulties Bradford says that “they saw many goodly
in the and fortified cities,” and “heard a strange and
way uncouth language,” and beheld “manners and
 customs ” so different from those they had been

used to in “their plain country villages ” that it seemed as if they had “come into a new world.” “But,” he adds, “these were not the things they much looked on ; ” — “for they had other work in hand, and another kind of

war to wage and maintain. For they saw fair and beautiful cities, flowing with abundance of all sorts of wealth and riches, yet it was not long before they saw the grim and grisly face of poverty coming after them like an armed man, with whom they must buckle and encounter, and from whom they could not fly; but they were armed with faith and patience against him, and all his encounters; and though they were sometimes foiled, yet by God's assistance they prevailed and got the victory." Speaking more particularly of the material outlook at Leyden when the Pilgrims reached that city, the same author says: "Wanting that traffic by sea which Amsterdam enjoys, it was not so beneficial for their outward means of living and estate. But being now here pitched, they fell to such trades and employments as they best could; valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatsoever. And at length they came to raise a competent and comfortable living, but with hard and continual labor." While it is true that Leyden was wanting in the "traffic by sea" which Amsterdam enjoyed, it is to be borne in mind that Leyden was a hive of industry, and in the multiplied forms of manufacturing which it carried on it opened many doors to men who were more than willing to earn an honest living by honest toil.

VI

As a matter of course, therefore, these men with a conscience, and with the self-respect and high purpose sure to be associated with a well-trained and vigorous moral sense, went to work at such simple, every-day tasks as others in like stress of need were engaged in, and as were offered them by the employers of manual labor. In the sweat of their faces they earned and ate their daily bread. Some became carpenters; others took up the trade of weavers; others still learned to lay bricks, or to spin twine, or to make furniture, or glass, or candles, or clocks, or pumps. For some there were openings in other directions, and they became bakers, brewers, coopers, or tailors. Bassett carried a hod; Cush-

man and Masterson carded wool; Jessop and Collins made bombazine, or a twilled fabric of silk and worsted; Cuthbertson and Lee made hats; Bradford, Fuller, Southworth, and Wilson manufactured fustian, or a twilled cloth whose constituents were cotton and linen; Morton, Butler, Jennings, and Pickering turned to merchandizing; Brewster taught English at first, and later ran a printing-press. Others who came in and joined the colony at subsequent periods distributed themselves through these and like departments of industry. Judged by the standards of the world these exiles were a lowly people, and they were content to earn their living in humble occupations; but it is to be said to their everlasting credit that they did with their might what their hands found to do, and, what is still more to their credit, they did honest work, and conducted themselves after a fashion to meet the hearty approval of the community among whom they dwelt.

On the removal of the Pilgrims from Leyden, slanders were set afoot by their adversaries to the effect that the

State had grown weary of them and driven them out. Warmly com- mended Bradford, in a spirit of calm and pardonable triumph, mentions two or three facts to show the groundlessness of these reports. "First, though many of them were

poor, yet there was none so poor, but if they were known to be of the congregation, the Dutch, either bakers or others, would trust them in any reasonable matter when they wanted money. Because they had found by experience how careful they were to keep to their word, and saw them so painful and diligent in their callings; yea, they would strive to get their custom, and to employ them above others in their work, for their honesty and diligence." To this somewhat conclusive evidence of the respect in which the Pilgrims were held in Leyden the same author adds: "Again, the magistrates of the city, about the time of their coming away, or a little before, in the public place of justice, gave this commendable testimony of them, in the reproof of the Walloons who were of the French Church in the city. 'These English,' said they, 'have lived amongst us now this twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation against any of

them; but your strifes and quarrels are continual.' ” As if to settle the question beyond controversy, Bradford cites the further fact of the marked esteem in which Robinson, the head of their colony, was held by the professors in the university, and the responsibilities to which he was advanced by the Calvinistic wing of them in connection with the great controversy of the time. But this will come into review a little further on; yet it called for notice here because of the slander it was brought forward to refute. History furnishes no counter-note to the claim that the Pilgrims, while in Leyden, showed themselves to be an eminently honest, industrious, thrifty, law-abiding, and God-fearing people.

VII

The additions to the numbers of the exiles from the outside during the years of their Leyden life were not so many as might have been expected. The persecuting spirit still remained active under James in England, and loyalty to conscience was still a characteristic of a large and intelligent section of the English people. But not many were disposed to cast in their lot with this band of Separatists at Leyden. Bradford says: “ Many came to them from divers parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation.” But he was speaking in comparative terms. Men of importance to the colony came to them; and the one hundred more or less who first entered Leyden grew to be three hundred, or thereabouts. Under the circumstances this seemed to the good governor a remarkable increase; but the increase was large only relatively — not actually.

However, there were accessions to the colony from the outside, and quite a number came to them whose coming was of great advantage. Of these John Carver, Edward Winslow, Thomas Brewer, Robert Cushman, Isaac Allerton, Samuel Fuller, and Miles Standish deserve special mention.

John Carver appears to have been a man of well-balanced mind, of marked practical sagacity, of deep and earnest

convictions, and of solid character. He was wise, considerate, kind, and he possessed in no small measure those elements of manhood which inspire and justify confidence. In addition to these personal qualities which fitted him so peculiarly for the service

Carver

he was to render, he was evidently a person of some means, and was sufficiently familiar with business and business methods to command the respect of men of affairs. From what county in England he came to Leyden is not known. Nor is there any record of the time of his joining the exiles. But he was in the city and a member of the colony as early as 1617, for both himself and his wife are entered in the register of marriages as witnesses to a marriage ceremony within this year. He was made a deacon in the church. When the time came for entering seriously on negotiations for the transfer of the colony to the New World he was one of the agents to whom the difficult and delicate business was entrusted. The fact that Robinson addressed him in terms of confidence and love in a personal letter, and also made him the organ through which he communicated his words of tender counsel to the whole body of the Pilgrims on their migration, and that he was selected to be the first governor of this historic company, shows how commanding was his personality, how judicious and dignified his bearing, and in what high esteem he was held by all his associates. These Pilgrims were but a little band, and they make but a beggarly showing compared with the hosts of voters who now assemble at the appointed places on election day to determine who shall be the chief executive officer of any one of our leading commonwealths; but it was no small thing to be the man first named by these founders of a democracy to preside over the destinies of the new state they were building. No statue of him may be chosen to adorn our modern temples of fame; representatives of more conspicuous abilities and service may crowd him out; but he occupies a niche in history from which he can never be dislodged.

Concerning Winslow Dr. Brown makes this interesting statement: "Edward Winslow, an able and educated young English gentleman from Droitwich, being on his travels,

happened to come to Leyden in 1617, and was so struck with the Christian life of the brotherhood that he cast in his lot with them, and not only became a member of the fellowship, but went with them afterwards to New England, his name standing third among those who signed the compact on board the Mayflower." Winslow Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Brewster, is the order in which the names of the leaders appear on that great and ever-memorable document. Winslow took up the trade of printer, and by this kind of work maintained himself at Leyden. He became a writer as well, and the productions of his pen, like those of Bradford's, are an invaluable source of first-hand information touching the history of the Pilgrims. Students of these early days would deem it a great loss were they deprived of the help to an understanding of the state of affairs found in his "Good News from New England," "Hypocrisy Unmasked," and other contributions made by him to the history of the times. In 1633, 1636, and again in 1644, Winslow was chosen governor of the Plymouth Colony. In the interest of the colony he was often sent to England. Cromwell had a high opinion of his merits, and appointed him on commissions which called for the exercise of great good sense and judicial fairness. He once had the honor of an imprisonment for several months in London at the instigation of Archbishop Laud for having presumed, while only a layman, to teach in the church, and in virtue of his office as a mere magistrate to perform marriage ceremonies. Dr. Morton Dexter says of Winslow: "He appears to have been the only member of the Pilgrim Company who gained an eminence recognized at the time in England as conspicuous."

Thomas Brewer was a man of property — a landowner in Kent — with the distinction in society which belonged to an owner of land in England in those days. Brewer He never came to America, but he played an important part in the life of the Pilgrims in Holland. He was one of the three members of the Separatist Church at Leyden who entered as students in the university. Speaking of Brewster, and of what he did in

Leyden, Bradford says: "He also had means to set up printing, by the help of some friends." Thomas Brewer was the "friend" who put capital into the business, and enabled the good elder to publish, on a somewhat surprising scale, ecclesiastical treatises which were in accord with the minds of the Dissenters. Arber says: "We suppose that we may rightly call that printing organization, which two members of the Leyden Church carried on — Thomas Brewer, the sleeping partner, finding the money, and apparently asking no questions; and William Brewster, the working partner, organizing and managing it — The Pilgrim Press."

Brewer occupied a house near Robinson's, in Bell Alley, and it was in the garret of this house that the printing materials were kept and the type was set. The sheets of the various publications were run off at the presses of some of the Dutch printers to whom they were sent. This was easily manageable so long as the publications were not too explosive. At length, however, there was an outbreak of sovereign wrath across the channel which compelled attention. Two books by David Calderwood — both issued in 1619 — one entitled "Perth Assembly," the other, "A Brief Account of Discipline in the Scotch Church," brought such a storm of protest from King James that the university authorities were obliged to call a halt and seize the type from which these books were set up and printed. This incident gave occasion for voluminous diplomatic correspondence between the English officials on the one side and the Dutch and university officials on the other side. The result was that the English officer was permitted to take Brewer to London on pledge of the government that he should be returned in safety. The fact is that Brewster was the man whom James wanted. Had he been able to lay hands on him it would have gone ill with the good elder. For more than a year he was kept in safe hiding. But though Brewer escaped this time, he was forced to suffer many persecutions and endure a long imprisonment afterwards. The record is that for a period of fourteen years — or from 1626 to 1640 — in addition to a heavy money payment, he was confined by the bishops in the King's Bench

Prison. He was released by petition to the House of Lords, but he lived only about a month after his liberation.

Of Isaac Allerton one hesitates to write. He was a man who gave promise of being of eminent service to the colony.

Allerton He had marked ability, executive force, and at the outset he met the expectations of his associates; but at the end he failed them in a way which was much to his discredit, and his career was disappointing. Trusted in the beginning, and chosen to conduct many important negotiations, he became untrustworthy before he was through, and involved the colony in much distress. At one time the richest man in the colony, he lapsed into poverty; and he died, pitied but distrusted by his brethren. It has been said of him that "he was almost the only one of the original Pilgrim body, and the only one eminent among them, who failed to maintain a good reputation."

Robert Cushman was a man whose action as agent of the exiles at a certain important juncture in their affairs exposed him to sharp criticism at the time, and

Cushman has been the occasion of no little controversy since. His management of the business with the Adventurers created grave uneasiness in the minds of those whom he represented and caused serious dissatisfaction. In the series of mishaps which befell the little band in starting out on their long voyage he was thought by some to have shown the white feather. Bradford, sweet and charitable as he was by nature, did not hesitate, many years afterwards, to put this intimation on record. The intimation may have had warrant in the misgiving and alarm of the hour; but a character so pure and disinterested as Cushman possessed, and services so valuable and conspicuous as those which he rendered to the Company with which his name is evermore to be identified, ought not to be allowed to rest under a cloud because of a momentary failure of heart. In the final changes, made at the last moment, in the articles of agreement between the Pilgrims and the Company with which they were negotiating, Cush-

man did exactly the right thing. He took responsibilities which he ought to have taken. He had both the courage and the wisdom to rise to the situation. He had received his orders from headquarters; and ordinarily it would have been his duty to carry them out both in spirit and letter; but he was like a general sent into a distant country to try conclusions with a shrewd and powerful enemy, and on coming into close range with him and discovering his actual condition and temper, knows better what to do than a dozen far-away ministers of state. At the psychical moment Cushman acted, and his prompt action saved the enterprise. Fault was found with him for doing what he did; and technically he was to be blamed; but from the higher standpoint of accepting responsibility and doing his larger duty he was splendidly right. It is to the credit of the Pilgrims that they came to respect and love him once more.

It ought to be said further concerning Cushman that to him belongs the unique honor of having been the author of the first printed discourse ever delivered in New England. Elder Brewster had been holding forth to the Pilgrims in the rude enclosure in which they had been accustomed to worship for the better part of a year when Cushman came over and gave his address on "Self-Love"; but Brewster's sermons were not put in print. Cushman prefaced his publication with a brief account of the country and the state of the Indians. This gave an added historic value to the discourse, and justly entitles it to be considered, as it generally is, the beginning of our American literature. To the great grief and cost of the colony, Cushman died in the same year in which Robinson, the able leader, the wise counselor, and the beloved pastor, went to his reward.

Samuel Fuller was a lovely character. In the hearts of all who know anything of him the mention of his name never fails to stir tender emotions. It is not known where he was born, but he appears to have gone from London to Leyden. He was a deacon in the Leyden church, and to the colony a physician beloved. Like others of the Pilgrims, Robinson included, he could

put things in a direct and pungent way when there was call for so doing, as seen in the letter sent to Carver and Cushman — the agents of the exiles in London — to which his name, followed by the names of Winslow, Bradford, and Allerton, is affixed. But he was wise and true and tender, and his presence among the people must have been a perpetual benediction. It was this good Dr. Fuller, who, under the direction of Governor Bradford, responded so promptly to the appeal of Governor Endicott when he sought help in a time of severe sickness among the people, and whose incidental services as a peacemaker drew from the Salem governor these words, addressed to the Plymouth governor, of gratitude and joy: "I acknowledge myself much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller among us, and rejoice much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship. It is, as far as I can yet gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself unto me; being far from the common reports that hath been spread of you touching that particular." By his timely visit he not only healed the bodies of men afflicted with scurvy, but he healed minds which had been distempered by the tongue of slander, and made the relations between the two colonies sweet and healthy. In a group of choice spirits, like Carver and Bradford and Brewster and their fellows, Samuel Fuller was one of the choicest.

Miles Standish, the redoubtable captain, will always stand out as one of the conspicuous personalities of this little band of our forefathers. One almost smiles at the apparent incongruity of such a man in such a fellowship. He was of "small stature and choleric temper"; but self-reliant and of dauntless courage, fertile in resources and prompt to act when action was called for, true-hearted and always to be trusted in what he promised, sound of judgment on practical matters and a man of great and indispensable service to the colony with which he became identified.

He was certainly the most picturesque figure in the whole group. This is the way Longfellow has sketched him in the opening lines of his "Courtship":

"In the Old Colony days, in Plymouth the land of the Pilgrims,
To and fro in a room of his simple and primitive dwelling,
Clad in doublet and hose, and boots of Cordovan leather,
Strode, with a martial air, Miles Standish the Puritan Captain.

Short of stature he was, but strongly built and athletic,
Broad in the shoulders, deep-chested, with muscles and sinews of iron;
Brown as a nut was his face, but his russet beard was already
Flaked with patches of snow, as hedges sometimes in November."

Hubbard says of him: "A little chimney is soon fired; so was the Plymouth Captain, a man of very small stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper. The fire of his passion soon kindled, and blown up into a flame of hot words, might easily have consumed all, had it not been seasonably quenched." But Justin Winsor, commenting on this, adds the proper corrective: "The account thus given by Hubbard has been considered, and rightly too, as graphic, but flippant and unjust." This is the right view. Unquestionably, he was of a temper to excite some apprehension in sober minds; but he was a man of force and unswerving loyalty to duty. When there was work to be done he did not stay to count the cost nor to take account of dangers. Prince bears high and worthy testimony to his character by calling him "one of those heroes of antiquity who chose to 'suffer with the people of God rather than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season,' and 'who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the power of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, from weakness were made strong, waxed mighty in war, and turned to flight armies of aliens.'"

Nevertheless he was not the kind of person whom we should naturally expect to find voluntarily associating himself with the Pilgrims.

For, to begin with, he originated in a Roman Catholic family, and was brought up, so it is supposed, under Roman Catholic influences. Duxbury Hall, Lancashire,

was his birthplace and early home. The date of his birth is not known, but inferences locate it somewhere in the year 1584. With Roman Catholic blood in his veins, and with a Roman Catholic home training, to say nothing of the standing of the circle into which life introduced him, it seems not a little strange to find him in close affiliation with these Reformers of Reformers and Protestants of Protestants.

Then he was a man of war. The fact that he was a man of war, and connected with the division of the English army which was sent over into the Netherlands to assist in the terrific conflict which this heroic people was waging against the aggressive despotism of Spain, goes far, no doubt, to explain his break with the faith of his fathers, and his revolt against all forms of tyranny.

Behind all it seems that grievous financial wrongs had been done him by members of his family. In his will he bequeathed to his son, Alexander Standish, certain landed properties in England. These properties he specified, and added that they had been given to him as right heir by lawful descent, but which had been "surreptitiously detained" from him. This practical robbery forced him to earn a livelihood as best he might. Like many of the high-bred and strenuous youth of his time he went into the army and made soldiering his vocation.

This decision is what took him into Holland. Quite likely he was one of the contingent retained in the Low Countries by England to garrison the towns which were delivered into her keeping by Holland and Zealand in pledge of the payment of the troops which Elizabeth sent over to aid them in the struggle against Philip. If this conjecture be correct, the soldier would have had abundant opportunity for forming acquaintance with his fellow countrymen who were living in exile in Bell Alley.

Just the same it seems somewhat queer to find this professional soldier, who is not known to have been a member of their church, and who appears never to have shrunk from a fight, though he never provoked one, enrolled in the fellowship of these peace-loving Pilgrims. Robinson may not have felt this incongruity; still he was not with-

out some distrust of the "military spirit" of Standish. In one of the last communications received by the Plymouth brethren from their beloved pastor at Leyden, and addressed to his "loving and much beloved friend," the governor, he expresses a keen sorrow over "the killing of those poor Indians" at Wessagusset by Standish, and ventures to add: "How happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some, before you had killed any"; for besides being a good thing in itself this desire is strengthened by the further consideration that "when blood is once begun to be shed, it is seldom staunched of a long time after."

This is a pretty good all-around anti-war argument. But the pacific and humane pastor made his criticism still more pointed by saying: "Upon this occasion let me be bold to exhort you seriously to consider of the disposition of your Captain, whom I love, and am persuaded the Lord in great mercy and for much good hath sent you him, if you use him aright. He is a man humble and meek amongst you, and towards all in ordinary course. But now if this be merely from an humane spirit, there is cause to fear that by occasion, especially of provocation, there may be wanting the tenderness of the life of man (made after God's image) which is meet."

This "military spirit" was no doubt born in Standish; and it had been developed and trained, as we have seen, by actual experience. It was well for Bradford and his associates to be on guard against it. But for all this, and in spite of the misfit which, at first flush, he seems, Standish was of immense value to the Pilgrims. Both by instinct and discipline he was thoroughly fitted for the part he was to play in the unfolding drama of the life and purpose of this epoch-making company. They do well to guard with sacred care "the sword of Damascus" which he "fought with in Flanders" among the priceless heirlooms at Plymouth. It was also a fit thing to rear a monument to his memory in the town which bears the name of his ancestral seat, and on the hill near which he lived and died, and that longer than the monument will commemorate the rank and fame of this heroic military leader.

VIII

What the exiles were doing, aside from earning their daily bread, during the years they spent in Leyden, has in part been intimated already. Brewster, with Books Brewer to back him through what Arber has printed and called The Pilgrim Press, was printing books. controversies stirred up Attention has been called, on a previous page, to two of these books which were published, and, by the indirect and secret methods then necessary, distributed to the consternation and wrath of the powers that then were over in the dominion of King James. These English Separatists consented to put in type copy brought to them by Scotch Presbyterians for the reasons that the bodies had a common foe. Puritanism under whatever banner was forced to fight for its rights; and assaults made anywhere were assaults in which all lovers of truth were vitally concerned, and victories gained anywhere were victories in which all lovers of truth could rejoice.

To a couple of the first books issued by Brewster he gave his name in the imprint. After this, for obvious reasons, his name was withheld. It has to be by other means, therefore, than information given on the title-page that the sources from which the books were sent out into the world by The Pilgrim Press can be determined. In all there were probably not less than fifteen different publications which found their way into the hands of eager readers through the agency of Brewster at Leyden. But in this business great care had to be taken, even under the shelter of Dutch toleration, to avoid detection. At length, as has been stated, the university authorities had to yield to remonstrances from London and put a stop to this issuing of books so distasteful and so threatening to the authority of kings and the supremacy of bishops. By royal and ecclesiastical dignitaries alike, outside of the Netherlands, Brewster was regarded as a dynamiter who at any moment might scatter thrones and priestly assumptions into a thousand fragments. The Stuart sovereign and Arch-

bishop Laud were not wholly without warrant for their fears. Give truth free course and in the end it is sure to blow up all lies and pretensions. Get justice fairly into the minds of men and injustice goes to the wall.

IX

Robinson was drawn into a service more open to the world. In addition to preaching and exercising pastoral care over his flock, he came into close relations with Leyden's distinguished educational institution, and through this relation secured a memorable prominence. As Thomas Brewer had done several months before him, and as John Greenwood did a decade after him, Robinson was matriculated in the university, though this step was not taken till he had been in Leyden six years. This gave him a place at the front and launched him into the thick of a strenuous wrestle. Soon after it was founded, Arminius took a course of six years at this seat of learning, and the closing six years of his life were devoted to the duties of a professorship in this same great school. Arminius died only a few months after the Pilgrims arrived at Leyden, and while the controversy over his views was still hot. But Episcopius, the favorite and faithful pupil of Arminius, was in the full flush of his manly vigor and the stout defender of the doctrines of his venerated teacher. Professor Poliander was the sturdy champion of the opposite view. Robinson held to the Calvinistic side in the controversy, and in virtue of his ability, which had now secured recognition in intelligent and influential circles, he was put forward by Poliander, the foremost of the followers of the great Genevan in the university and in the city, to defend their positions. Robinson entered on the debate with the advantage that he was familiar with the teachings and methods of both instructors — Episcopius and Poliander. As was natural, the divinity section of the school was divided into two hostile camps. Things had come to such a pass of prejudice and bitterness, so Brad-

ford tells us, that "few of the disciples" of one professor "would hear the other teach." "But Mr. Robinson . . . went constantly to hear their readings, and heard the one as well as the other; by which reason he was so well grounded in the controversy, and saw the force of all their arguments, and knew the shifts of the adversary, and being himself very able none was better fitted to buckle with them." It ought to be said in justice to his modesty that Robinson was not overforward for this conspicuousness, but was pressed into the service. "He was loath, being a stranger," to advance to such a dispute, "yet the other" — Poliander — "did importune him, and told him that such was the ability and nimbleness of the adversary, that the truth would suffer if he did not help them." In continuing the account Bradford adds: "So he condescended, and prepared himself against the time; and when the day came, the Lord did so help him to defend the truth and foil this adversary as he put him to an apparent non-plus in this great and public audience. And the like he did two or three times." This skill and success in debate "caused many to praise God that the truth had so famous victory." It furthermore secured for the hero of the contest "much honor and respect from those learned men and others which loved the truth."

This incident in the career of Robinson was brought forward by Bradford, it will be remembered, to refute the slander that the Dutch wanted to get rid of the exiles. Most admirably does it serve that purpose; but it also goes to show what the wise and able leader of the exiles was doing during a portion of the Leyden period, and on what profound themes he was exercising his mind. He was alive to the burning questions of the hour; and both his abilities and his attainments were of an order to make a deep impression on thoughtful men.

X

But the appearance of Robinson in public debate on a religious question of immediate and absorbing interest simply suggests rather than tells the story of his intellec-



JOHN ROBINSON'S HOUSE, LEYDEN, HOLLAND

tual activity. Through all those years in Holland he was doing many things in the same line. In earnest brain work, as well as in heroic and self-sacrificing deeds, he was facing the religious issues of his age, and doing his best to throw light on the problems to be solved. If we turn to the chronological index of his works, it will be seen that more than half of the three volumes which comprise his published works was given to the world within the years 1609-1619 inclusive. All of the second volume on "Justification of Separatism from the Church of England," and the larger section of the third volume, including such important contributions to the vital thought of his times as "Christian Fellowship," "Religious Communion," the "Exercise of Prophecy," and a "Just and Necessary Apology," fall into this decade. While the members of his little flock were busy at their humble tasks day by day earning a livelihood for themselves and their wives and their children, their faithful and beloved pastor was in his study, pondering the deep things of God and trying to get the "more light" which had broken in upon his own mind from the divine Word to shed its illumination into their minds.

We think of Robinson as genuinely conscientious and sincere, as loving and considerate, as wise with the wisdom which is born of a high moral purpose and tenderness of heart, and withal as never wanting in loyalty to truth and the courage of his convictions. But he was more than this. He was a man of rare intellect. He had large mental faculties. He saw things; he knew things; and he was master of the art of putting things in that rugged English of his day so that others could see and know them. Not yet have even his followers, to say nothing of the world at large, come into a full and proper appreciation of this rare man. Dr. O. S. Davis has rendered a valuable service to religious literature and to the faith and polity of which the Pilgrim pastor was the exponent, in his book on "John Robinson." But his closing chapter on "The Man and His Place in History" can hardly be ac-

cepted as an adequate estimate of the high intellectual abilities of Robinson. He was larger-brained than the type of man there drawn. He was remarkable for the whiteness of his soul, and the sweetness of his disposition, and the high order of his courage, and the superb dominancy of his conscience; but he was also remarkable for the lofty qualities of his mind. His fine character and his patient submission to a lowly lot in life have largely obscured the vision of writers dealing with him to his superior intellectual capacities. Both in natural endowments, however, and in the keen edge which he put upon his mind by study and reflection, this quiet pastor of a small flock deserves eminent rank. His thinking was pitched to a high key for the reason that his thinking powers were of a high sort. He reached logical results because he had a mind capable of moving straight on from sound premise to sound conclusion. It is time that suitable recognition were accorded to his intellectual gifts, and the world made to see that in mental as well as moral endowments this English Separatist—forced into exile by the heartless tyranny of the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of the country he loved—was fitted to represent and direct a movement which meant so much at the hour, and which with each unfolding century has come to mean more and more to religion, to political freedom, and to the progress of Christian civilization throughout the world.

XI

But in addition to what has been indicated already what were the Pilgrims doing at Leyden?

For one thing they were establishing, or reestablishing, their simple homes and cultivating their domestic virtues.

Marriages They were marrying and giving in marriage, and to the best of their ability bringing up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Accepting the results obtained by painstaking examinations of original and official documents, made by such competent investigators as George Sumner, a brother

of Charles Sumner, Hon. Henry C. Murphy, at one time United States Minister at The Hague, Dr. Griffis, and the two Dexters, who put a large amount of time and not a little expense into these researches, it is found that from 1609, in the spring of which year the Pilgrims reached Leyden, to 1620, the year of the departure — both years included — forty-six marriages were registered. This, as one of these authors has said, “is a pretty fair record for a church company never at any one time numbering over probably three hundred communicants” to make for itself in a little more than ten years. Children were born into these homes of the Pilgrims. It has been conjectured that there were not less than twenty children in the company when the removal was made from Amsterdam, and that “about one hundred were born or lived a longer or shorter space in Holland.” Family life, like the church life, went on in an orderly and happy way, and the rewards of industry and economy were enough to give these strangers in a strange city a tolerable measure of prosperity and comfort.

Within the dates just named — 1609–1620 — thirty-three members of the colony became citizens of Leyden.

Doubtless there were two motives for this step.

Citizenship One was that these men, or some of them at least, wanted to be in closer affiliation with the people about them than was possible if they simply stood off and maintained an alien attitude. They were under the shelter of the government, and they were more than willing to show their appreciation of the liberty and protection they were enjoying by becoming subjects of the government. Another motive was self-interest. Manufacturing along various lines was carried on extensively in Leyden. The Pilgrims had learned trades by which to make their living. Much of manufacturing business was in the hands of guilds. The guilds of those days were in some respects the labor unions of our days. One had to belong to them to get on. But to be a member of a guild it was necessary to be a citizen. The bearing of this is obvious. With their shrewdness, their self-respect, their determination, and in their circumstances of need, these

exiles naturally availed themselves of any help which promised to make it easier for them to earn an honest living.

The Pilgrims must have taken a warm interest in the religious questions which were then agitating the minds of the people of Holland. They were religious men. They were where they were because of their religious convictions. We know the topics which were uppermost in the thoughts of Robinson, and the extent to which he became involved in the theological controversies of the times. It was Protestantism against Catholicism; it was Calvinism against Lutherism; it was rigid Calvinism against moderate Calvinism; and the whole land was a battle-ground of warring opinions. In the circle of their homes, at their daily tasks, when they met by the way, on the Sabbath, these subjects were in their minds and on their tongues. Meditating on these great themes day and night, and discussing them constantly one with another, they became clear in their views and strong in their convictions, and at the same time broader and more tolerant in their sympathies. It admits of no question that Robinson made progress with the years, and that he was further on and more catholic in his ideas of Christian fellowship at the end than at the beginning of his leadership.

XII

But there was something else of much importance which these Pilgrims were doing at Leyden. They were getting their ecclesiastical polity out of gristle into bone. They were defining to their own minds with an increasing distinctness the system of church government which they had adopted, and habituating themselves to the use of this system in the practical management of church affairs.

At Scrooby these Separatists had taken their stand for independence and self-government. It was once for all. Come what might in cost or pain, there was to be no flinch-

ing. At Plymouth they were to work out their scheme on a large scale, and demonstrate by a success beyond dispute the practicability of this method of maintaining order and promoting fellowship and securing efficiency in churches. But at Leyden the task was to perfect the system and get it thoroughly domesticated in the minds of this little group who had become adherents of the Congregational Way.

This was an undertaking not altogether easy. At the outset Robert Browne had a clear conception of the system both in respect to the autonomy of the local church and the fellowship of the whole body of churches similarly organized and conducted. He had difficulty in working the plan; but his notion of the plan was lucid.

The very simplicity of the idea, however, seemed to make it hard for some people to apprehend and apply it. It involved the use of too little machinery and implied too much confidence in the sanctified common sense of the laity. The notion advanced by Cartwright and taken up by Barrowe and adopted in one modification of it by Johnson and in another by Ainsworth, that church government is incomplete and liable to end in serious disaster without the balance-wheel of the eldership, seemed to be pretty thoroughly ingrained in the thought of large numbers of the Separatists. It fell to the lot of Robinson and his associates in the faith to work clear of this notion, and show to the world that elders are not essential factors in the management of churches, and that order and prosperity in churches do not depend on the incorporation of these officials into the system of church government.

There was one elder in the Leyden church; but so far as appears there was only one. When Brewster went to America, he left the eldership vacant and no successor to the office was ever chosen. Nor was his function as elder so much to rule in an authoritative way over the people of God as to be what Dr. Morton Dexter has called a moral leader and adviser. Bradford speaks of him as "an assistant" to Robinson, and it was for this reason that he was chosen to be an elder. In this office, no doubt, he continued to be "an assistant," and not an authoritative

ruler. Under the circumstances, to cut loose from the idea of a select body of men in whom the power to control the church is to be lodged was a large achievement.

But this is what the Leyden Separatists under the guidance of Robinson succeeded in doing. Alien elements were

eliminated from the system, or put in the way of elimination, and Congregationalism in its simplicity was set up and operated; and when Brewster and Bradford and the rest of them came to America they brought with them not only a theory of self-government for churches, but an actual experience of self-government for churches on which they could fall back with confidence.

They could fall back on this experience with the more confidence because the system had worked so well. How beautiful is Bradford's testimony to the peace and orderliness of that little Leyden flock. "Being thus settled, they continued many years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together in the ways of God under the able ministry and prudent government of Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster. . . . So as they grew in knowledge and other gifts and graces of the Spirit of God, and lived together in peace, and love, and holiness . . . and if at any time any differences arose, or offenses broke out (as it cannot be, but some time there will, even amongst the best of men) they were ever so met with, and nipped in the head betimes, or otherwise so well composed, as still love, peace, and communion was continued; or else the church purged of those that were incurable and incorrigible, when after much patience used, no other means would serve, which seldom came to pass. . . . Such was the true piety, the humble zeal, and fervent love of this people (while they lived together) towards God and his ways, and the single heartiness and sincere affection one towards another, that they came as near the primitive pattern of the first churches, as any other church of these later times have done, according to their rank and quality."

To the same effect is the splendid tribute paid by Robinson himself to the wise self-control and high Christian char-

acter of this ecclesiastical democracy in his extinguishing reply to Richard Bernard: "If ever I saw the beauty of Sion, and the glory of the Lord filling his tabernacle, it hath been in the manifestations of the divers graces of God in the church, in that heavenly harmony and comely order, wherein by the grace of God we are set and walk; wherein, if your eyes had but seen the brethren's sober and modest carriage one towards another, their humble and willing submission to their guides in the Lord, their tender compassion towards the weak, their fervent zeal against scandalous offenders, and their long-suffering towards all, you would, I am persuaded, change your mind, and be compelled to take up your parable, and bless, where you purposed to curse."

XIII

Life at Leyden was hard, but it was educational. Under the severe discipline of it the Pilgrims were confirmed in their purpose to maintain their views, hold together, and go straight on. Without the experience of those testing years in Holland they would not have been fitted for the "great and honorable actions" of the subsequent years in America, which had to be "both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages." They were stronger, they were wiser, they were in every way better for their sojourn and intercourse with the Dutch. From the inception of the movement at Scrooby to the consummation of it at Plymouth, the providence of God is nowhere and in nothing more marked than in leading the advocates of a free church and founders of a free state through a land whose people had illustrated the loftiest heroism and made every sacrifice demanded of them in order to rid their country of ecclesiastical and civil tyranny.

VIII

LEAVING LEYDEN

Coming events of serious importance began to cast their shadows before during 1617. Gradually it was becoming evident to the Pilgrims that Holland did not, and could not, afford the sort of refuge and opportunity which they desired. Reluctant though they were to emigrate again, and uncertain though they were where to go, they seem to have decided this year that their very existence as a church, and even as a body of English people, depended upon some such step. — THE DEXTERS.

I persuade myself, never people upon earth lived more lovingly, and parted more sweetly than we, the Church at Leyden, did. Not rashly, in a distracted humour; but, upon joint and serious deliberation, often seeking the mind of God, by fasting and prayer: whose gracious presence we not only found with us; but his blessing upon us from that time to this instant: to the indignation of our adversaries, the admiration of strangers, and the exceeding consolation of ourselves. — EDWARD WINSLOW.

So they left the goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting place near twelve years; but they knew they were pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits. — WILLIAM BRADFORD.

Now sails are ready as the wings
Of rising bird, outstretched for flight;
Around the keel the water sings,
And breezes to the sea invite.
Now, gathered here,
The Pilgrims kneel in prayer.

ISAAC BASSETT CHOATE.

VIII

LEAVING LEYDEN

THE Pilgrims, through their daily employments, had close connection with the people of Leyden, and there can be no doubt that they derived much satisfaction and help from the sweet Christian fellowship which they were permitted to enjoy with them while residents of their city; but they were English — English to the core — and they never struck any very deep roots in Dutch soil. They were among the Dutch, but they were not of them. Their thoughts were “long, long thoughts.” They were not at home in their feelings, and they were not satisfied to remain where they were. They were not quite able to interpret it, but there was a voice of destiny sounding in their souls. The spirit of prophecy was upon them. Their young men saw visions, and their old men dreamed dreams. Something afar beckoned them. They knew they were pilgrims, and they kept girded for their journey. They could not escape the service for which God had raised them up. They were very grateful for the shelter which the free institutions and the liberty-loving spirit of the citizens of the Netherlands afforded them from the storm which beat so furiously upon them in the home-land, and for the opportunity cheerfully granted to earn their daily bread and worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; but they could not think of a final abode in Holland. As a matter of fact no very serious efforts were ever made looking to this end.

I

As early as 1617, or three years before the migration actually occurred, the Pilgrims began to look the question of removal squarely in the face. Other questions, of course, such as the country to which they should go, and the auspices under which their change of residence should be attempted, were mixed in with this preliminary one of going or not going; and the discussion would necessarily assume, not only an earnest tone, but a wide range. But the leading question was whether they — those English exiles — should stay where they were, and work out their destiny as best they might, or go elsewhere. This question was soon settled. There were various opinions on the subject. It was a matter, however, between themselves; and matters between themselves, through prayer and conference and mutual love, were amicably and in general promptly adjusted. The obstacles to removal, the sacrifices which would have to be made and the hardship which would have to be endured if a removal were attempted, were clearly and impressively stated. "It was answered," so Bradford tells us, "that all great and honorable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted the dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible. . . . True it was, that such attempts were not to be made and undertaken without good ground and reason — not rashly or lightly, as many have done, for curiosity and hope of gain. But their condition was not ordinary; their ends were good and honorable, their calling lawful and urgent, and therefore they might expect the blessing of God in their proceeding. Yea, though they should lose their lives in this action, yet might they have comfort in the same, and their endeavors would be honorable." Hence "it was fully concluded by the major part to put this design in execution, and to prosecute it by the best means they could." It was a brave conclusion, and one which called for heroic self-denial, resolute purpose, and a mighty faith in God; but

it was an act in line with the history and prophetic of the future of these dauntless Pilgrims.

These statements are general, and have to do with the matter of removal in all its bearings. Before reaching them, however, in his history, Bradford puts on record the reasons for the action of the Pilgrims on this one specific question of going or not going. For substance, these reasons are as follows:

First, they could not hope to grow to any considerable extent in the circumstances in which they found themselves in Leyden. "The hardness of the place and No chance country" were such "as few in comparison for growth would come to them, and fewer that would bide it out, and continue with them. For many that came to them, and many more that desired to be with them, could not endure the great labor and hard fare, with other inconveniences which they underwent and were contented with."

Second, the leaders in the movement were getting old — some of them prematurely so in consequence of their hard toils; and if the body they represented was to be kept together, and the influence of their future protest in behalf of religious freedom was to be perpetuated, there must be removal. In no other way could their future be secured. "The people generally bore all these difficulties very cheerfully, and with a resolute courage, being in the best and strength of their years, yet old age began to steal on many of them, . . . so as it was not only probably thought, but apparently seen, that within a few years more they would be in danger to scatter, by necessities pressing them, or sink under their burden, or both."

Third, there was the thought of the moral and spiritual safety of their children. A wise solicitude for those who are to succeed them and bear their names in the world has always been a characteristic of godly parents. The words of Bradford show how tender and profound was the interest which these devout fathers and mothers took in their offspring. "For many of their children, that were of best

dispositions and gracious inclinations, having learned to bear the yoke in their youth, and willing to bear part of their parents' burden, were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labors, though their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepit in their early youth, the vigor of nature being consumed in the very bud, as it were. But that which was more lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne, was that many of their children, by these occasions, and the great licentiousness of youth in that country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins off their necks, and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers, others took upon them far voyages by sea, and others some worse courses, tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their souls, to the great grief of their parents and dishonor of God. So that they saw their posterity would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted."

The statement in the foregoing paragraph that "some became soldiers" had a special significance at the time and in the circumstances in which it was made. On the one hand the truce between the Dutch and the Spaniards, which had been in force since 1609, was approaching its termination, and hostilities might break out again with all the old fierceness at any moment after 1619. On the other hand, the long and bloody conflict, which was to be known in history as the Thirty Years' War, had already begun, and was raging with the cruelty and destructiveness of an irresistible conflagration in Bohemia. The signs were ominous. The clouds in the political sky were black with threats. The hour seemed to be hastening when Protestantism and Catholicism throughout Europe were to be involved in a death-struggle. All up and down the lands young men would be sucked into the vortex of battle, and their lives would be sacrificed, or their morals would be corrupted, and their whole future blighted. With the smell of powder in the air, and the tramp of approaching armies and the thunder of guns falling on their ears, it is no wonder that those

Leyden exiles, who laid so much stress on pure and upright character, and to whom their cause was so sacred, should think of their sons and their future welfare.

Fourth, the ardent desire these exiles had to spread abroad a knowledge of Christ and to aid in building up his kingdom. Or, to give this, too, in Bradford's own words: "Lastly (which was not least), a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the Kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be even as stepping-stones unto others for the performing of so great a work."

These were the reasons advanced in justification of the action proposed and taken. Well might they be called by the wise man who formulated them "weighty and solid."

A distinguished ex-governor of Massachusetts has been at pains to say repeatedly, when addressing assemblies on Forefathers' Day, and on other occasions when the Pilgrims were under consideration, that these men came to our shores in part, at least, as a business venture. Of necessity there was a business side to their movement. There had to be. There had to be just as there had to be a business side to the movement of Carey when he went to India, or of Livingstone when he went to Africa, or of the Iowa Band when it went out into that new state beyond the Mississippi.

But the overmastering passion of these rare souls was religion. In their actions they were controlled by loyalty to God and loyalty to humanity. They crossed the water in obedience to an unselfish purpose; and to attribute any lower motive to them is to misread their lives and misinterpret their aims.

II

It having been definitely settled that they were to leave Leyden, the next question to which the Pilgrims had to give serious attention was the country on which they should fix for a permanent home. As might have been expected, these men of God began their conference on this grave matter with "humble prayer" for divine "direction and guidance."

Two preferences were expressed.

One was for Guiana, or other fertile spot in the hot countries. Guiana was named most likely because Raleigh, twenty years before, had published a book in which the attractions of this region were set forth in glowing colors. As another has said, he made it appear to be a "romantic paradise . . . a fair, rich, and mighty empire, where the trees were in delicious groves, where the deer came at call, where the singing birds were singing a thousand charming tunes to gentle airs in the forest, and where the very stones beneath their feet promised gold and silver." It was a fascinating picture well fitted to capture the imagination of men whose courage was not tempered by sober judgment, and whose ruling motives were not godliness, but gain.

Substantial reasons were advanced, as they well might be, for going to Guiana; but still more substantial reasons were urged for not selecting this country. It was admitted that "the country was both fruitful and pleasant; and might yield riches and maintenance to the possessors more easily than the others; yet other things considered, it could not be so fit for them. And first, that such hot countries are subject to grievous diseases and many noisome impediments, which other more temperate places are freer from; and would not so well agree with our English bodies. Again, if they should there live and do well, the jealous Spaniard would never suffer them long; but would displant or overthrow them, as he did the French in Florida, who seated further from his richest

countries; and the sooner, because they should have none to protect them; and their own strength would be too small to resist so potent an enemy and so near a neighbor."

The men who were wise enough to take these positions did not need to go to school to subsequent events to learn the true inwardness either of Spain or South America. They knew beforehand what all the world knows now. Holland was a good place in which to absorb practical knowledge of the spirit of Spanish rulers.

The other preference was for Virginia.

The idea of migration to America had long been in the English mind. A home in the wilderness on the other side of the Atlantic was a favorite dream with men who were restless and wished more scope for the exercise of their powers, or for men who were oppressed and desired to escape the hard conditions imposed by unjust laws and tyrannical rulers. As early as 1592, or more than a quarter of a century before the event with which we have to do, a petition for liberty to form a Separatist colony to go to this new land was presented to Queen Elizabeth. It was only natural that the Pilgrims should have thought of going across the waters. If a change of residence was to be made, it must be some country outside the country of their birth. America, with all its hardships and perils, some of which were never so much as imagined till they were realized in experience, seemed to be the only country, with doors wide open, and liberty ample enough to permit them to go in and out unhindered in the enjoyment of their own faith, and in the service of God and man.

But the arguments against the selection of Virginia were conclusive. To go there would be to establish themselves within easy reach of the persecuting power from which they had fled, while at the same time they would be out of reach of effective help from those who were favorably disposed towards them.

"At length, the conclusion was to live as a distinct body by themselves under the general government of Virginia; and by their friends to sue His Majesty that he would be pleased to grant them Freedom of Religion; and that this might be obtained, they were put in good hope by some

Great Persons of good rank and quality that were made their friends." The highest kind of practical sagacity again! For at the end of all these years who can see what wiser course was open to them?

But let it not be forgotten that these men began their consultation over the question of Whither with "humble prayers" for divine "direction and assistance." Is it possible to doubt, or, if it is possible, is it reasonable to doubt, that they received the "direction and assistance" for which they prayed?

III

The Pilgrims had a whole line of questions to settle. So soon as they had disposed of one in a satisfactory way they were confronted by another. They had decided to go; they had decided where they would go; but how reach their destination? The auspices and terms under which they would make their brave venture of establishing new homes and planting churches and laying the foundations of a free state across the sea presented a problem vastly more difficult of solution than either of the others which they had considered. Where were the means to come from, and who would stand sponsor for the successful carrying out of an undertaking so formidable?

There were two Virginia companies organized in England. One was called the London Company, the other the Plymouth—though the latter, like the former, did its business in London. Both received their charters from James I in 1606. Neither company prospered. The London Company became bankrupt in 1624, and was forced to close its books. The Plymouth Company held on until 1635; though for the last fifteen years of its existence it appears to have been merged into and known as The Council for New England. But while these companies were financial disappointments to their promoters and members, they were important intermediaries in the settlement of the English colonies.

As soon as it had been definitely decided to leave Leyden, which, as we have seen, was three years before the migration took place, approaches were made to the London Company. The object in view in approaching this company was twofold: first, to secure a patent, or lease, which would enable the colony to make their settlement under due legal authority; and second, to conciliate the favor of the king. There were good grounds for hoping to secure both of these ends. It was the business of the Company to further colonization. As was said in a preceding paragraph, in association with the Company, or in close affiliation with those who were associated with the Company, there were certain "Great Persons" who might be expected, since they were avowed friends of the Separatists, to aid them in gaining their ends. These "Great Persons" were Sir Robert Naunton, secretary of state to James, and Sir Edwin Sandys, one of the best specimens of the best Englishmen of his time. The agents sent over to conduct the business were John Carver and Robert Cushman. Others, like Elder Brewster, had a hand in the affair; but Carver and Cushman were the chief factors in conducting the negotiations.

In both the particulars in which they had hoped to succeed, the Pilgrims were disappointed. Naunton did his best "to move His Majesty, by a private motion, to give way to such a people, who could not so comfortably live under the government of another state, to enjoy their liberty of conscience under his gracious protection in America; where they would endeavor the advancement of His Majesty's dominions, and the enlargement of the Gospel, by all due means." The king admitted that this "was a good and honest motion." When told that the immediate profits likely to come from the endeavor would be the profits arising from "fishing," he replied, with his ordinary asseveration, "so God have my soul! 't is an honest trade! It was the Apostle's own calling." Up to this point the outlook was promising. But later, and when further pressed on the subject, the king informed his secretary that these applicants must make their appeal to the

Outcome of
negotia-
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bishops of Canterbury and London. These bishops were George Abbot and John King. While Abbot was able, liberal-minded, kindly, and disposed to sympathize with the aims of Puritanism, and would have had, no doubt, the controlling voice on his side in any conference with the agents of the Pilgrims, yet the Pilgrims had had enough to do with bishops to make them distrustful of any help to be obtained from that source. Still their case was laid before the archbishop by some of their friends. It was of no use. Both as respects the head of the nation and the head of the Church, securing the favors sought "proved," in the quaint, terse language of Bradford, "a harder piece of work than they took it for; for though many means were used to bring it about, yet it could not be effected." As might have been expected, "this made a damp in the business, and caused some distraction." Yet something was gained. For in sounding the mind of James, it was found "that he would connive at them, and not molest them; provided they carried themselves peaceably; but to allow, or tolerate them by his public authority, under his seal," he would not. This was something of an advance on the old platform of harrying them out of the kingdom if they refused to conform, and then arresting them if they attempted to leave.

On this turn in affairs the Pilgrims through their agents applied more directly to the London Company. Practically nothing came of this application. The Company was found to be very desirous to have them go out under its auspices. A patent would be granted them with as ample privileges as they had, or could grant to any body of colonists. In addition to this the company stood ready "to give them the best furtherance they could." It was in vain. The business dragged on through almost two years. At length the promised patent was granted — granted not directly, but to an individual in trust for his associates; but this patent was never used. It came too late. It came when the London Company was nearly worn out with working at cross-purposes and quarrels, and when it had no funds to use in aid of transportation.

IV

Meanwhile the thoughts of the Pilgrims were turned in another direction. In the midst of their perplexities, when their hopes of help in influential quarters were all failing them and discouraging accounts of the ill success of other companies who were trying to make settlements in the New World were reaching them, "some Dutchmen made them fair offers about going with them." The industry, the thrift, the self-respect, the sturdy honesty, the faith in God, the mutual love and peaceableness of these English exiles, had made a deep impression on the Dutch; and those of the people who were interested in trade, or in the extension of the territorial boundaries of the nation, knew well what a stable and promising element these men and women would furnish to any colony. Their overtures were negatived, though what might have come from them under further prosecution can only be conjectured; but as it was, attempts to draw the Pilgrims into a settlement under Dutch auspices came to an abrupt ending by the opening of a door in another direction.

V

Thomas Weston was a "Merchant of London." He appears to have been well acquainted with some of the leading members of the Leyden church. Bradford speaks of him as one who had rendered them assistance in some of their previous starts. He was an enterprising rascal; and in consequence of his rascality he died a poor, despised, and miserable wretch. But at this time he talked bravely, and had the confidence of Robinson and his associates. He appeared on the scene at Leyden while the negotiations with the Dutch were still in hand. At his instance these negotiations were broken off, and an entirely new plan of migration was

formulated. Weston and his friends among the merchants would aid the exiles, so he gave them to understand, to any extent necessary to the carrying out of their project of removal. Using their own means so far as they might, they were to make ready for the voyage, "and neither fear want of shipping nor money; for what they wanted should be provided." The offer was accepted. This was probably in February of 1620; and was what had come to pass after nearly three years of negotiations.

Who were the "friends" of Weston on whose backing he so confidently counted? They were the Adventurers. Who again were the Adventurers? We are indebted to the "Letter Book" of Bradford for their names, or the names of most of them; and to Captain John Smith's "General History," published in 1624, for such particulars as are available concerning them. It would appear that Weston had brought them together and secured their co-operation in this enterprise of transporting the Pilgrims to the shores of America. In number they were about seventy. Some of them were "Gentlemen; some, merchants; some, handicraftsmen." They were not a corporation, but a body bound together by voluntary consent, without constraint or penalty, "whose aim was to do good and plant religion." Some of them had large estates and much interest in the undertaking. Others had less wealth and less willingness to make advances. It is altogether probable that a majority of the body were chiefly concerned with the financial outcome of the venture. Still a sum by no means insignificant was invested in this movement of the adventurers. According to Smith, inside of three years they had put £7000 into the general stock. That reduced to dollars, and to the purchasing power of dollars at the present time, would not be less than \$140,000. These were the men, with Weston at their head, who had come to the rescue, and were to further the Pilgrims in their great historic migration.

VI

At once, and while Weston was still in Leyden, articles of agreement were drawn up and the undertaking was set in motion. The basis of this enterprise was that of a joint stock company. Shares were ten pounds each. An adventurer who contributed ten pounds to the common treasury was entitled to one share, and an additional share for each ten pounds invested. Each colonist, who was sixteen years of age or upward, was rated at ten pounds, and received one share of the stock. A colonist who made provision for himself to the amount of ten pounds was given an additional share. There were minor details and provisions for contingencies; but the general principle on which the undertaking on its business side was to be operated was as here stated. The partnership thus instituted, "except some unexpected impediment" should "cause the whole company to agree otherwise," was to continue seven years; and then was to come the division of whatever had been accumulated.

It is not to be questioned that the terms of the agreement are expressed in a way to create doubt of their exact meaning. But the ruling idea of it was men and means, colonists and capital, in an even balance. The final division was to be in two parts — one-half to go to the Adventurers and one-half to the colonists; and each owner of stock was to receive from the half in which he had ownership according to the number of his shares. After reaching this conclusion by an independent study of the transaction, it was gratifying to find the contention supported by Dr. Ames, who says: "Their respective bodies" were "associated as but two partners in an equal copartnership, the interests of the respective partners being (probably) held upon differing bases — contrary to the commonly published and accepted views."

In the original agreement — the agreement which was made and assented to by the Pilgrims before they left

Leyden, and under the terms of which they decided to go forward, there were two wise and humane provisions made for the benefit and encouragement of the colonists. First, it was stipulated that "the houses, and lands improved, especially gardens and home-lots, should remain undivided," and belong exclusively to the colonists. Second, it was stipulated that the colonists, "especially such as had families," should have two days in a week for their own private employment. This was "for the more comfort of themselves and their families."

In justification of the propriety and advantage of these stipulations, Robinson remarks: "Let this especially be borne in mind, that the greatest part of the colony is like to be employed constantly, not upon dressing their particular land and building homes, but upon fishing, trading, etc. So as the land and house will be but a trifle for advantage to the Adventurers, and yet the division of it a great discouragement to the Planters, who would with singular care make it comfortable with borrowed hours from their sleep. The same considerations of common employment constantly by the most is a good reason not to have the two days in a week denied the few Planters for private use, which yet is subordinate to the common good. Consider also how much unfit that you and your like must serve a new apprenticeship of seven years, and not a day's freedom from task."

VII

Here, in order to give unity and completeness to the account of the transaction with which we are now dealing, it seems better to anticipate a modification in the plan just given which was made at the last moment, and of which the colonists knew nothing until they reached Southampton.

Dishearten-
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agreement

With the liberal agreement, originally entered into and already stated, some of the more avaricious of the Adventurers became dissatisfied, and when the Pilgrims had gone too far to back out, save at serious loss to no small numbers of them, and humili-

ating disaster to their cause; quite a contingent of the moneyed men of the enterprise balked, and declared that the stipulation yielded too much to the colonists, and must be changed to allow all incomes and properties to go to swell the common possessions, or they would withhold payment for their stock and have nothing more to do with the undertaking. Alarmed by these threats, and solicitous, so he claimed, lest the whole movement should come to naught, Cushman gave in, and on his own responsibility consented to an alteration in the articles of agreement in the two particulars specified. Under the modified articles, the colonists were not to have the "two days in a week for their own private employment" on which they had set their hearts. Moreover "all profits and benefits" which were obtained by the "trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means" of any of the colonists were to be made over to the common stock. This swallowed up the houses which they had hoped to build and occupy and call their own, and the little garden-plots which in imagination they had seen enriching and beautifying their rude homes in the wilderness.

It is no wonder that this change in the terms of the agreement occasioned disappointment, grief, and even anger; and that it led to the interchange of language which it is charitable to call simply sharp. The wonder would be, had there been no hot indignation on learning these facts. It was indeed a hard bargain, and it was submitted to by the Pilgrims because there was no other way in which they could carry out their high and valiant purpose. But while hard, it is difficult to see what other rational course was open to Cushman. He had to deal with business men, on what business men are fond of calling a business basis; and he saw clearly that it was better to go under hard conditions than not to go at all. If, as has been said in a previous chapter, Cushman is to be blamed for what he did, it is nevertheless clear that he was used of God for the fulfilling of a great design.

The blame lies at another door. Thomas Weston was both the mover and the marplot in this affair of the partnership between the London Merchants and the Leyden

Separatists. If indignation is to be felt towards anybody this selfish schemer should be the object of it. In a letter to Carver and Cushman, when the outlook seemed desperate, Fuller, Winslow, Bradford, and Allerton expressed their latent distrust of Weston by using this expression: "in whom we hope we are not deceived." In this communication these men affirm that it was at his suggestion they entered on the undertaking of going to America, and in full assurance that if he had not seen means of finishing the business he would not have begun it; and they hope that in their extremity he will so far help that their confidence in him may be justified. Alas for their expectations! Alas, too, that there will be further occasion for speaking of this Weston!

Meantime to give effect to these negotiations and carry out their plans, two ships had been secured for the transportation of passengers and goods across the water. One was the *Mayflower* which had been hired for the voyage. The other was the *Speedwell* which had been purchased, and was to remain and be at the service of the colonists when they had become established in their new home. It was a wise scheme, but destined not to be realized.

VIII

Incidentally, and at the outset of the negotiations, whose story has now been told, views and characteristics were brought out which were greatly to the credit of the Pilgrims, and which ought to magnify them evermore in the estimation of posterity.

First, there was a document drawn up by them, called the Seven Articles, in which the faith and form of government of the Leyden church were set forth in explicit statements. The object of these articles was to reduce to lowest terms consistent with honesty the differences between themselves and the Church of England. This, again, was to satisfy the more reasonable and kindly of the officials and adherents of the king, and likewise to soften the heart of the king himself.

These articles were sent by the Leyden church to the Privy Council of England. For while the agents of the Pilgrims were making every effort possible to interest the London Company in their behalf, at the same time, and most likely through all the negotiations, such influence as they could command was brought to bear on the council to further their aims. It has already been shown how Naunton worked for them.

In these articles complete assent was avowed to the Confession of Faith of the Church of England; frank acknowledgment was made of the good effects of these doctrines as held and taught "to the begetting of saving faith in thousands in the land," and the desire was expressed "to keep spiritual communion" with both "Conformists and Reformists," as with brethren; thorough-going loyalty was declared to the king; the right of the king to appoint bishops was admitted; so, too, the authority of bishops, so far as this authority came to them from His Majesty, was admitted; that "no Synod, Classes, Convocation, or Assembly of Ecclesiastical Officers, possessed any power or authority," save as imparted to them by the magistrate; and lastly, a declaration of intent "to give to all Superiors due honor, to preserve the unity of the Spirit with all that fear God, and to have peace with all men," in so far as it was in their power. These articles carried the signatures of John Robinson and William Brewster; and the contents of them gave great satisfaction to all friends of the Leyden church.

In these articles it will be observed that nothing is said about the setting apart of men to the ministry. Critical eyes noticed this omission. But nothing could have induced these conscientious and determined Separatists to locate the authority for making ministers anywhere else than in the Church. Neither pope nor potentate might assume this sacred prerogative. They held that the call to the ministry comes from God, but that the acknowledgment and ratification of this call resides in the Church.

Bearing date a few weeks later, there was another communication, signed by the same leaders, Robinson and Brewster, called by the writers "instances of inducement,"

in which their faith, their habits, their motives, and their fitness for such an enterprise as the one on which they hoped soon to enter, were declared to Sir Edwin Sandys in the frankness and love which the friendship of this large-souled man had inspired in their breasts. It is important to reproduce these statements entire and just as they have come to us; for here we have thoughts which are apples of gold in words which are baskets of silver.

"First, we verily believe and trust the Lord is with us; unto whom, and whose service, we have given ourselves in many trials; and that He will graciously prosper our endeavor, according to the simplicity of our hearts therein.

"Secondly, we are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country; and inured to the difficulties of a strange and hard land; which yet, in great part, we have by patience overcome.

"Thirdly, the people are, for the body of them, industrious and frugal, we think we may safely say, as any company of people in the world.

"Fourthly, we are knit together as a body, in a most strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord; of the violation whereof we make great conscience; and by virtue whereof, we do hold ourselves strictly tied to all love of each other's good, and of the whole, by every one; and so mutually.

"Lastly, it is not with us as with other men whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again. We know our Entertainment in England, and in Holland. We shall much prejudice both our arts and means by removal. If we should be driven to return, we should not hope to recover our present helps and comforts; neither indeed look ever, for ourselves, to attain unto the like in any other place, during our lives; which are now drawing towards their periods."

Neither soundness of faith, nor pure and devoted lives, nor loyalty to the sovereign, nor avowals the most earnest and sincere of love for their native land, nor loftiest Christian aims, nor all of them combined, availed to secure to these men the simple privileges which they sought. God

had something better for them, and a higher place in the reverence and affection of the generations which were to follow, than the favor which could come to them through the patronage of bishops and kings. In the design of a beneficent Providence it was meant that all the credit of their great achievement should go, not to those who sat in the high places of the earth and exercised authority and wielded the mighty power of church and state, but to these exiles themselves.

IX

At length the time came when preliminary points had all been settled. Not far from three full years had been consumed in conferences and negotiations. It was a long and tedious business, with many ins and outs to it, and many disheartening setbacks — this getting ready to go. Often it looked as if all their attempts were to be thwarted and their hopes brought to naught. It was not so to be. They were to make their venture and at the same time make a glorious chapter in human history.

But who were to go? Who were to be the advance agents of this new movement in the progress of mankind? Not all could leave. Some, we may well suppose, were in no physical condition for the undertaking. Some who were willing to join in the migration could not get ready in time. Means were limited, and only a part of the company could be provided with transportation at that time. No one was constrained to go, but only those who voluntarily chose to do so joined in the migration. Both sections of the company, those who remained and those who went, desired to have their beloved pastor with them; but it seems to have been mutually agreed that he was to identify himself with the larger body; and as those who stayed were more than those who went, Robinson, "who for other reasons could not then well go," kept on at Leyden. But he remained in hope — in hope that he, too, in a little while might follow on and join those who had gone before. It was a hope never to be realized. In less than five years

from this historic midsummer when the first instalment of migrating Pilgrims set their faces westward, Robinson was not, for God had taken him. This arrangement made it expedient, if not necessary, for Brewster to go.

How many left Leyden and embarked on the *Speedwell* at Delfshaven for Southampton is not quite clear. At any rate the authorities differ in their estimates. Number who left Leyden Dr. Ames publishes a list of sixty-six of the Leyden people whom he thinks must have been on board the *Speedwell* when she left Delfshaven. But in setting forth the reasons for his conclusions in each individual case, the word "probable" or "probably," has to appear so frequently that one rises from the examination quite uncertain in his mind. Yet he cannot be far out of the way; for the numbers must have been considerable, or Winslow would not have been justified in saying that "the difference" between the number of those who went and those who remained "was not great." The reference by Winslow was made no doubt on the basis of the membership of the church; and this was not large. But Brewster — beyond question — Bradford, Winslow, Fuller, Howland, and Standish, were on the vessel; and when these men were weighed in the balances of what they were to do in the years to come, they made a large party.

X

On the day before the departure was to take place the church came together, and spent the hours from morning till night in communion and fasting and prayer. It is better, however, to let those who were sharers in these sacred experiences tell the story of both the departures — this from Leyden and the subsequent one from Delfshaven. This is the account given by Bradford: "So being ready to depart, they had a day of solemn humiliation, their pastor taking his text from Ezra 8. 21 *And there at the river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seek of Him a right*

way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance. Upon which he spent a good part of the day very profitably, and suitably to their present occasion. The rest of the time was spent in pouring out prayers to the Lord with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears."

What a day this must have been! How it would linger — an inspiring and sanctifying influence — in the memory of all who had any part in its sacred privileges! How the words of their beloved pastor, as intelligently and tenderly he expounded to them the passage which sets forth the duty of God's people to humble their souls and seek from on high the right way for their own walking and for the walking of their children, must have melted into their souls, and become a vital portion of their lives! It was a wonderful season of fellowship with God and with each other. It is easy to imagine that as their fervent supplications were offered, and their Psalms were sung, and their earnest expressions of friendship and love were exchanged, the thoughts of many must have run back to the scenes of the upper chamber when our Lord and his disciples were together for the last time before the crucifixion.

Twenty-four miles from Leyden, not as the bird flies, but by lines of travel, is the seaport of Delfshaven. Here lay the *Speedwell*. This was a craft of sixty tons' burden. Thither, on the day following the day of conference and fasting and prayer, the little band of Pilgrims, who were to take passage in the *Speedwell* for Southampton, there to join the *Mayflower*, took their journey. Most of their friends and associates accompanied them to the place of embarkation.

"So," says Bradford, continuing the narrative, "they left the goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting-place near twelve years; but they knew they were pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country and quieted their spirits. When they came to the place they found the ship and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come with them followed after them, and sundry also came from Amsterdam to see them shipped and to take

their leave of them. That night was spent with little sleep by the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse and other real expressions of true Christian love. The next day, the wind being fair, they went aboard, and their friends with them where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting; to see what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each heart; that sundry of the Dutch strangers that stood on the quay as spectators, could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love. But the tide — which stays for no man — calling them away that were thus loath to depart, their reverend pastor falling down on his knees — and they all with him — with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent prayers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutual embraces and many tears, they took their leaves one of another; which proved to be the last leave to many of them."

Winslow, in his "Brief Narration" has also described the scene of this historic departure. His account is short; but he adds one or two touches to the picture which both freshen the sense of its reality and increase the vividness of its coloring. "And after prayer performed by our pastor, where a flood of tears was poured out; they accompanied us to the ship; but were not able to speak one to another, for the abundance of sorrow to part. But we only going aboard, the ship lying to the key, and ready to set sail; the wind being fair, we gave them a volley of small shot, and three pieces of ordnance; and so lifting up our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed and found His presence with us, in the midst of our manifold straits He carried us through."



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THE DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIMS FROM DELPHHAVEN, JULY, 1620
From a Contemporary Dutch Painting

IX

CROSSING THE OCEAN

All Englishmen must feel pride in, and cherish as a precious possession, the memory of men who were true to their consciences, let the cost be what it might, and who pursued their aim undaunted, though the difficulties were well-nigh overwhelming. — G. CUTHBERT BLAXLAND.

Their faults were those of their age, and the rudeness of the culture of many of them; their virtues were their own — such as they were in native worth, and such as God's grace, mainly in their severe discipline of furnace, anvil and sledge by which the Divine hand has been wont to forge its most useful implements and weapons for the service of earth, had made them.

HENRY MARTYN DEKTER.

Brave souls were they
Who dared embark,
And sail away
Into the dark
And pathless night.

Brave souls and great!
They crossed the sea
To found a state
Where men were free
Forevermore!

REV. J. P. TROWBRIDGE.

This is the solitary number, who, for an undefiled conscience, and the love of pure Christianity, first left their pleasant and native land, and encountered all the toils and hazards of a tumultuous ocean, in search of some uncultivated region in North Virginia where they might quietly enjoy their religious liberties, and transmit them to posterity. — THOMAS PRINCE.

No home for these! too well they knew
The mitred king behind the throne;
The sails were set, the pennons flew,
And westward ho! for worlds unknown.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

IX

CROSSING THE OCEAN

SOUTHAMPTON was reached on the fourth day, probably, after leaving Delfshaven. Nothing worthy of note occurred on the passage from the Dutch to the English port. Bradford simply says of it: "Thus hoisting sail, with a prosperous wind, they came in short time to Southampton, where they found the bigger ship" — the *Mayflower* — "come from London, lying ready, with all the rest of the Company." On arriving at the landing there were "joyful welcomes and mutual congratulations," and "other friendly entertainments."

Beyond this, too, one cannot help feeling that the hearts of these exiles, shut out as the most of them had been for twelve long years from the sight of their native land, must have thrilled with a peculiar gladness as they set foot on the shores of England. The thought of the tyranny of the rulers — ecclesiastical and civil — which had driven them forth, and of the losses and hardships they had been forced to endure, would distress them; but to walk once more under English skies and on English soil, and to hear their mother tongue in the streets, and to look on people whose dress and manners had been so familiar to them in years gone by, would be sure to afford them a strange pleasure, albeit a pleasure mixed with melancholy.

I

But something besides warm greetings and friendly attentions, and setting foot once more on the soil of their native land, awaited the Pilgrims on their reaching South-

ampton. They had to encounter severe disappointments, to submit to vexatious delays, and to suffer embarrassing losses. As has been related in a preceding chapter, the agreement between the Pilgrims and the Adventurers under which the migration was effected, on demand of some of the moneyed men who were backing the undertaking, and by consent of Cushman, was changed in some very important particulars. This change was contrary to explicit orders given to Cushman by the Pilgrims; and it was not known to them until they arrived at Southampton. A new turn like this given to affairs disturbed the whole party. The leaders refused to ratify the modified articles, and sailed without doing so.

The irritation was increased by the presence and arrogant behavior of Weston. Very naturally he had come down from London to see the colonists off, but he was there not so much to express a sympathetic interest in their welfare as to secure their signatures to the contract which had been changed to their disadvantage. When he found it was impossible to get the written consent of these men to the modified articles of agreement, he became top-lofty and indignant. "He was much offended, and told them they must look to stand on their own legs." This was his parting shot, as he turned on his heel and went back to London.

This disagreement brought delay and not a little embarrassment. Expenses had already run up far beyond their calculations. The attitude of Weston and some of the other merchants whose interests in the colony were mercenary rather than sympathetic, left the Pilgrims in sore straits for funds with which to prosecute their journey. Each day that they lingered in port diminished their resources and added to their burdens. Something like a hundred pounds in addition to what they had was needed "to clear things at their going away." With Weston, the prime mover in this scheme of migration, and those of his ilk offended, there was no one to whom the distressed company could turn for help. "So they were forced to sell off some of their provisions to stop this gap." They sold so

much, in fact, that they had scarcely "any butter" left, "no oil," "not a sole to mend a shoe," "nor every man a sword to his side, wanting many muskets," "much armor," and other things essential to their comfort and defense.

II

At length, however, difficulties had been overcome, differences had been smoothed over if not satisfactorily adjusted, the two ships had been loaded and put in trim for sea, the passengers had been assigned to the vessels in which they were to sail, "a Governor and two or three assistants for each ship had been chosen, to order the people by the way, and see to the disposing of their provisions, and such like," and all things were in readiness for the voyage. There were no such scenes to be witnessed, and no such ceremonies of farewell in connection with the going away from Southampton as there had been back at Delfshaven. There were no such wailings and sobbings, no such heart-breaking interviews, no such "salt-dropping dews of vehement affection," as, according to Johnson in his "Wonder-Working Providence," signalized the departure from this same port a few years later of a large company of the Puritans when they "shipped for the service of Christ in the Western World."

III

But in the midst of these final preparations, and when near to the hour of sailing, there was pause for a service which was at once touching and memorable. Robinson's letter It was the reading of a letter from their beloved pastor. This letter had followed the Pilgrims from Leyden, and was written by Robinson out of a full heart and in the spirit, not only of a fatherly love, but of a profound wisdom, and it was designed, no doubt, to be read at precisely the place and time selected for its reading.

In this letter Robinson declared his tender love for his migrating brethren, and assured them how willingly he would have borne with them his part in this first brunt had he not been held back by strong necessity. Proceeding then to the points of counsel which he thought it fitting for him to communicate to them, he besought these "Loving Christian Friends" day by day to renew their repentance toward God in order that they might have great "security and peace in all dangers, sweet comforts in all distresses, with happy deliverance from all evil whether in life or in death." He urged them, in addition to this "heavenly peace with God and their own consciences," "carefully to provide peace with all men," so far as they might, "especially with" their "associates." To this end he assured them that "watchfulness must be had" that they "neither in themselves" should "give," "nor easily take offence, being given by others." He reminded them that many of them were strangers one to another. The Leyden brethren might be expected to know each other well; but these brethren who had sojourned at Leyden for years were joined at Southampton by others of like precious faith who had never left England; and it might well be thought that the two parties would need to exercise not a little patience with each other, if they were to get along smoothly together. Because they were strangers, and because their "intended course of civil community" would "minister continual occasion of offense, and be as fuel for that fire," he warned them that they must not fail in the exercise of "brotherly forbearance." He added the injunction that in their "common employments" they were to have a common thought for "the general good," and to avoid as "a deadly plague" of both their "common and special comfort" all plotting for individual advantage. In conclusion, he charged them, that inasmuch as in the "body politic," which they were to become, they had no "persons of special eminence above the rest," they must elect to office only such men as would "entirely love and promote the common good," and when such men were duly elected, then all the members of the "body politic" must join in "yielding unto them all due honor and obedience in their

lawful administrations." For however ordinary a person might be before his election to office, after election, so he taught them, he became a minister of God for good to the people; and the power and authority of the magistrate must be recognized.

Bradford called this a "large" letter. It is indeed in more senses than one; and the good governor might well add that it was "fruitful in itself, and suitable to their occasion." It is no surprise to us that, when read, it "had good acceptance with all, and after fruit with many."

About the fifteenth of August, or somewhat more than three weeks after leaving Delfshaven, the two companies in the two ships said farewell to native land and set their sad but determined faces westward.

IV

This, after all, was not to be their final leave-taking. Through the exercise of the perilous skill by which cowardly and treacherous men come to know so well how not to do what they do not wish to do, certain defects in the *Speedwell* were used practically to force the ship to spring a leak. The vessel, while still in Holland waters, had been overmasted; and consequently all that the "cunning rascal," the characterization which Arber gives to Captain Reynolds, had to do when he found this out was "to clap on, all possible sail," and this would be sure to bring about the result desired. This is Bradford's explanation of the disaster: "The leakiness of this ship was partly by her being overmasted and too much pressed with sails."

This, however, is not the whole story. It will be observed that Bradford says "partly"—it was "partly by her being overmasted." There was a treachery in the case worse than this. Not only was the vessel "overmasted," but she was tampered with and helped to a leak which simple overmasting would hardly have caused. In a letter written at Dartmouth, after the ship had put back to that port, and while they were still lying in the

dock waiting for the completion of repairs on the *Speedwell*, Cushman says: "We put in here to trim her; and I think, as others also, if we had stayed at sea but three or four hours more she would have sunk right down. And though she was twice trimmed at Hampton, yet now she is open and leaky as a sieve; and there was a board a man might have pulled off with his fingers, two feet long, where the water came in as at a mole hole." It is true that Cushman was sick, discouraged, and in every way out of sorts when these words were penned; but he says explicitly that there was an opening in the side of the ship through which the water was coming in as through "a sieve," or "at a mole hole."

If there is still doubt in any mind on this matter, here is a further statement made by Bradford in close connection with his other statement just quoted: "But more especially, by the cunning and deceit of the master and his company, who were hired to stay a whole year in the country, and now fancying dislike and fearing want of victuals, they plotted this stratagem to free themselves; as afterwards was known and by some of them confessed."

There was evidently something more than "overmastering" to be put to the credit of the "rascality" of Captain Reynolds. At any rate, precious time and fair winds were lost, and much additional expense was incurred, by this misfortune. But after not less than eleven days spent in making repairs and getting ready to sail once more, anchors were weighed and the ships put out to sea. It must have been with not a little misgiving on the part of those of the company who knew the causes of the delay, and who, in the circumstances, could not have quieted their uncomfortable suspicions.

Appearances, however, were favorable. This time it really looked as if this goodly fellowship of men and women were to be permitted to reach their destination without further hindrance, save such as might arise from adverse winds and baffling waves. After proceeding on their way a full three hundred miles, the convenient leak came to the rescue of those who had no heart for the undertaking, and there was another return.

It was Plymouth in England which was to have the unique honor of saying the last good-bye and Godspeed to a devoted band who were to make Plymouth in America "holy ground" for all coming time.

V

This fresh mishap occasioned a detention of another precious fortnight. Still this return brought some compensation to the oft-baffled exiles; for as we **Off at last** are told in the "Journal," they were "kindly entertained and courteously used by divers friends" who dwelt at Plymouth. Sympathy, appreciation, hospitality and words of encouragement from persons of mind and heart like their own must have meant much in the distressing circumstances in which they were. The *Speedwell* was abandoned. As much of her cargo as seemed advisable was transferred to her worthier consort. The timid and disheartened of the party were permitted to withdraw. The *Mayflower*, with a passenger list of one hundred and two, again pointed her prow to the New World. This was the third attempt, made almost two trying months after the embarkation at Delfshaven. But spreading their canvas to the breeze, and committing themselves and all they held dear to the God who rules on the waters as on the land, and who guides the destinies of individuals and nations alike, these sturdy souls pressed on over the billowy seas and through tempests fierce and wild, towards troubles they could not have foreseen, and a glory surpassing all the anticipations of the most extravagant enthusiasm.

VI

Here, leaving our good ship for a while to plow her way through stormy waters to her destined haven, it is in place to note some of the accessions which were made to the colony on reaching England.

Some of these were poor sticks — such stuff as rascals

rather than saints are made of. In speaking of John Billington, who, in a little less than ten years after the landing of the Pilgrims, was tried and executed for the murder of John Newcomen, or Newcomin as he is called in the History, Bradford says: "He and some of his had been often punished for miscarriages before, being one of the profanest families amongst them. They came from London, and I know not by what friends shuffled into their company." This "profanest family" consisted of the husband, wife, and two sons. Of other accessions, two, Trevor and Ely, were hired sailors, and went back to England at the end of their engagement. Edward Dotey and Edward Lister came in the service of Stephen Hopkins. To these two young bloods belongs the distinction of having been the first and last couple in the Plymouth Colony to fight a duel. Each was slightly wounded; but both were punished by sentence that their heads and feet should be tied together, and that they should be constrained to lie in this ignominious position, without food or drink, for twenty-four hours. A very little of this medicine was enough to cool their hot heads; and their pathetic pleadings for pardon, and their solemn promises to do better in the future, softened the hearts of the authorities, and the rest of the severe penalty was remitted. Lister left the colony and died early. Dotey never got over his fiery temper; but he became an energetic and thrifty citizen, and lived on until 1655. James Otis, who seems to have reproduced some of his characteristics, traced his ancestry back to Dotey. Besides these, there were Prower, Langemore, and Robert Carter, who were enrolled as "servants," and who died early.

There were others of more distinction, or who, if they were not in the forefront at the outset, came, in the course of time, to be of great importance to the colony. Four of these call for special mention.

Christopher Martin was from Billerica in Essex. He was supposed to have been about forty years of age at the time of his connection with the Pilgrims. He was one of

the agents appointed especially, it is believed, to represent the English contingent of the Pilgrim company, and to act in consort with Weston, Cushman, and Martin Carver, who conducted the negotiations with the Adventurers. He was himself an Adventurer. At a later date, these other Adventurers, Collier, Hatherly, and Thomas, joined the colony; but Martin and Mullins are the only Adventurers who sailed in the *Mayflower*. He was made treasurer of the company, and thus was charged with the duty of receiving and paying out money in connection with the migration, and keeping an accurate account of all business transactions. He was also elected "Governor" of the ship. This array of facts goes to show in what esteem he was held by a majority of his associates up to the time of the final sailing of the *Mayflower*. At the last moment, however, serious dissatisfaction with the man and his methods cropped out. He was deposed from his governorship and remanded to a subordinate place. What was the trouble? Dr. Azel Ames in his valuable treatise, "The Mayflower — Her Log," makes short work in answering this question. He hardly ever mentions his name without expressing an opinion of him which is by no means flattering. He opens on him by saying: "He was no credit to the Company, and his early death probably prevented much vexation." He follows this up by declaring that "he seems to have been at all times a self-conceited, arrogant, and unsatisfactory man." For substance, these statements are no doubt true. The man was hot-headed, impatient of opposition and restraint, and most likely fond of having his own way. But, to say nothing of Weston, was Cushman a model of patience? "If I speak to him," so Cushman complained of Martin, "he flies in my face." But with all his excellences could not Cushman show heat on occasion and strike back? When one thinks of the quick tempers of Weston and Cushman and Martin, and the delicacy of the business they had to transact, and the many difficulties under which they all labored, one can but feel an increased admiration for Carver, who had to meet it all, and yet see that the enterprise was not wrecked by

the jealousies and squabbles of the agents. But Martin was not so bad a man as Dr. Ames represents him. He may have been hard to get along with; not so careful as he ought to have been in his bookkeeping; far from conciliatory; and overbearing in his assertions of authority. Unquestionably he was. But he had principles, and he was ready to stand by them. He withstood ecclesiastical authorities, "cost what it might." He threw himself heart and soul into the Pilgrim cause. He staked his life and his all on the issue. What he might have been had his life been spared can be only conjectured. The end, however, came early. He himself, his wife, and his two servants, Prower and Langemore — the whole household — "died in the first sickness." He went hence from the *Mayflower* in less than a month after the landing at Plymouth.

William Mullins, as recent investigations have shown, was from Dorking, in Surrey, near London. He was a tradesman by occupation. He was one of the most trustworthy and devoted of the Adventurers. His wealth has been said to have been considerable, and he was one of the heaviest subscribers to the fund of the Adventurers' Company. His investment in the enterprise is said to have been five hundred pounds. But his career was a brief one. In a little more than two months after reaching Plymouth, he passed away. As the end drew near, Governor Carver was sent for, and going aboard the *Mayflower*, he received by word of mouth the will of the dying man. Soon after this he folded his hands and fell asleep. William White went to his reward on the same day. It was an inexpressible bereavement for the little colony to lose two such members within the same twenty-four hours. The burial was a solemn occasion. His wife soon followed him. His wife, his son Joseph, and Carter, a man-servant, all fell victims to "the first sickness." A part of the family still remained in England, but Priscilla Mullins was the only one who was left of the circle on this side of the water. It was given to this fair maiden to play an important part in the future of the

colony, and into her life-story there was woven the web of one of the most charming romances in our literature. "Beautiful with her beauty, and rich with the wealth of her being," she will never cease to be the fairest type of the Puritan maiden.

Stephen Hopkins was a man of weight in the colony. Like many another man he had the faults of his virtues.

Hopkins He was intelligent, robust, enterprising, practical, quick to see the point, and fertile in expedients; but he was a bit touchy and not at all averse to a set-to with anybody who crossed his path. For several years he was a member of the governor's Council. He built the first wharf which was erected by the Plymouth people. He was interested in shipping, and a comparatively large owner of cattle when he died. He was one of the sturdy company to venture out and act as adviser in the first search for a suitable place for settlement. It was at his house that Samoset was lodged over night when he first appeared with his "Welcome" to the Pilgrims, and when, on his showing a determination to remain longer and the water being too low to take him out to the ship, it was thought necessary to entrust him to watchful eyes and strong hands. To some in the colony it was no doubt a nerve-shaking business; but Hopkins was never wanting in resolution and courage. It was Winslow and Hopkins, with Squanto for guide and interpreter, who were sent through the forests to see Massasoit. A man weak and timid would surely have shrunk from such a service.

But his vigor and pluck had their reverse sides; and there were occasions when one could wish that his strong will had not been quite so strong, and his daring not quite so near to recklessness. While holding office in the governing body of the little state, he allowed his anger to get the upper hand of his discretion and betray him into an assault on a man, for which he was duly tried and heavily fined. Eleven years before the *Mayflower* sailed on her famous voyage, Hopkins had been sentenced to death by court martial, and would have swung from the yard-arm

of a British ship had not his family interceded and saved him from the ignominious fate. As Goodwin tells the story, Hopkins was lay reader to the chaplain of his ship when, in 1609, Governor Gates sailed from England for Virginia. The ship was driven out of her course and wrecked at Bermuda. Our future Pilgrim, always noted for the energy of his opinions and the fidelity with which he adhered to them, insisted that landing in Bermuda instead of Virginia broke the contract under which he embarked, and that therefore he was free to go as he pleased. Governor Gates thought otherwise. He called his conduct treason, with results as just stated. All through his life — near the end as at the beginning — there was this tendency to be a law unto himself.

Still he was a man of much value to the colony. He died in the same year that Brewster passed on. In his posterity he has been greatly honored. One of his great-grandsons was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and another was the first admiral of our navy. If as admiral he did not fulfil all the expectations which the brilliant opening of his career had awakened, it may be that along with some of the eminently praiseworthy qualities of his energetic great-grandfather he had also inherited some of the drawbacks which ran in his blood.

John Alden was a young man of twenty-one when the Pilgrims, on arriving at Southampton, found and hired him to enter their service for a year. He was
Alden a valuable discovery. Whatever his ancestry, or training, or previous associations, he soon became flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone, and when the time for which he was employed was up, instead of going back to his native land he was ready to cast in his lot with them, and take his full share of the hardships as well as the triumphs of the Pilgrims.

Alden was a cooper, and his function was an important one to the colony. At first flush it may seem strange that this little company should have needed a cooper. But it has been discovered by those who, like Dr. Griffis, have investigated the matter that there was a law on the statute-books of England to the effect that whoever exported beer

should give bonds obliging him to bring in as many staves as would make good the amount of material which had gone into the beer casks which had been taken out. The "Clapboard," of which more will be heard further on, were these staves. A cooper in those days, as in the latter days of New England, was a man who could make barrels not only, but also "rive" the forest timber into strips suitable for manufacturing into barrels. It was given to me in my boyhood frequently to witness both of these processes — though the casks which were constructed from the staves thus made were not for beer, but for pork and molasses and mackerel.

Goodwin pays this fine tribute to Alden: "The colonial cooper soon became a leader. He was assistant to every governor but Carver, serving at least forty-three years; he was the colony's treasurer some thirteen years, and was eight times deputy from Duxbury — sometimes holding two of these positions at once. He is credited with martial tastes, and in the early days was Standish's close attendant. Alden's male descendants have furnished a continual succession of noteworthy soldiers and sailors; and the females, to a striking extent, have had husbands of like character." In confirmation of this statement, it may be said that two presidents of the United States, John Adams and John Quincy Adams, were descendants of John Alden. He was the last of the signers of the Mayflower Compact to start on his pilgrimage to the Great Beyond, and it was not until he was well-nigh fourscore and ten that he entered into the peace which remaineth unto the people of God.

VII

Coming back from our excursion among recent accessions to the Pilgrim Company in the list of passengers on board the ship, it will not be out of place, while she is still pressing on to her destination, to look a little into her record and say a few words about the *Mayflower*.

The story of the vessel is of special interest. The *Speedwell*, as we have noted, had been purchased by the

colonists both for the present exigency and for future use; but the *Mayflower* was chartered for this particular service. It is, however, about the hired vessel, and not the one they owned, that historic interest gathers and the charm of a stern but fascinating romance evermore lingers. Poets will never cease to illuminate their verse, orators and essayists to round out their periods, and students of the past to emphasize their lessons with the name of this ship. No war-ship which ever sailed, bearing splendid heroes to splendid victories, shines with such a glory.

It is a singular fact that neither the name of the *Mayflower* nor the *Speedwell* is ever mentioned in the narratives of Bradford and Winslow. With these writers the designation is the "larger" and the "lesser" vessel. It is not until we come upon it in the "New England Memorial" of Nathaniel Morton, which did not appear until 1669, that we find the larger ship called the *Mayflower*. This has led more than one writer to ask for the authority on which these names of the two ships rest. Morton's authority would be enough; for he caught up and handed on what must have been a trustworthy tradition. But there is a testimony too convincing to be questioned. It is found in the official records of the Old Colony. In 1623, allotments of land were made to the colonists. In one of the headings of these allotments which were made to the several groups of the colonists we have this clause, "which came over in the *Mayflower*." This is an official record, made in 1623; and it settles the question of the name beyond any peradventure.

The *Mayflower* was small—measured by modern standards, surprisingly small; yet she was a hundred and eighty tons burden. Her capacity, therefore, was much greater than that of many of the craft used by the intrepid and hardy mariners of those and earlier days in making their passages from continent to continent.

As early as the reign of Henry VII, or not far from four centuries ago, a vessel was built in England with a tonnage as high as one thousand. But this was an extraordinary achievement. The vast majority were not only smaller, but very much smaller. The *Santa Maria*, in

which Columbus sailed at once to this new world and to an undying fame, is estimated to have been of not over a hundred tons. The *Nina* and the *Pinta* were of considerably less capacity. Like Columbus, Martin Frobisher had three ships when he set out on his first voyage of discovery; but the *Gabriel*, which was the largest, registered only thirty-five tons. The largest of the three vessels with which Cartier undertook the second and most fruitful of his voyages in 1535, and which he took as far up the St. Lawrence as the marvelously picturesque locality which was subsequently to be known as Quebec, was not more than a hundred and twenty tons burden. Of the two ships which bore Pontgrave, the Breton merchant, and the beloved Champlain, the founder of Quebec and the father of New France, and their associates in what Parkman calls an "adventurous knight-errantry," across the Atlantic in 1603, one was of fifteen and the other of only twelve tons capacity. As size then ruled, the *Mayflower* was not an exceptionally small vessel, but was, in fact, larger than any other here mentioned, since the big ship of Henry's time.

But as has been well observed by other writers, these ships of Columbus and Frobisher and Cartier and Champlain were officered and manned by crews who knew the sea and the hardships and perils of the sea, and were not daunted by wind and storm and tossing billows. On board the *Mayflower* were not only men, but women and children — women to the number of twenty-nine, and children, male and female, to the number of twelve — who were unused to a seafaring life, and to whom their limited variety of food and their crowded quarters must have become extremely irksome. For though their ship, as we have seen, was comparatively large, yet when to a passenger list of one hundred and two there were added not less than twenty-five who belonged to the ship, it will be readily inferred there could have been only narrow space for each individual.

VIII

All went well until the good ship was half-way across the Atlantic. The wind had been fair, the weather fine, and the only discomfort worth mentioning had been the inevitable seasickness of some of the passengers.

Trying ex-
periences
and inter-
esting in-
cidents

But smooth sailing was not to continue. Fierce storms arose. The wind blew a gale. The waters were lashed into fury. The vessel was strained. "One of the main beams in the midship was bowed and cracked, which put them in some fear that the ship could not be able to perform the voyage."

The strained
beam

The officers were put on their mettle. The leaks were threatening. The sailors muttered, and their discontent and evident anxiety must have occasioned not a little misgiving and alarm on the part of the more timid of the company. The strongest hearted of them all could not have been without grave apprehensions. Mishap after mishap had overtaken them; was their brave little craft now to founder and carry them all to the bottom of the sea? At first there was excitement and difference of opinion; but after careful examination the master and others said they knew the ship to be strong and firm under water; "and for the buckling of the main beam, there was a great iron screw the passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise the beam into its place." Fortunate was the man — fortunate for himself and fortunate for his associates — who thought of the screw and brought it along! God was in the thought as He was in the storm. Dr. Ames is of opinion that the bent and cracked beam could have been lifted up and restored to its place by a system of wedges. Possibly. But the simple quick-working screw was much better. It could be operated effectively in the storm; and at that critical moment, when the question of going forward or returning had to be settled, the screw may have saved the day for the future of the Pilgrims. "They committed themselves to the will of God, and resolved to proceed." Storm followed

storm. Sometimes for days together "the winds were so fierce and the seas so high" that no sails could be spread, and the ship had to be left to drift under bare poles. It made no difference. Through fair weather and foul, guided by a definite purpose and drawn by an unseen attraction the *Mayflower* held steadily to her westward course.

In one of the severe storms which the vessel encountered, John Howland came near losing his life. In a lurch of the ship he was thrown into the sea; but "it pleased God," so Bradford tells us, "that he caught hold of the top-sail halliards, which hung overboard, and ran out at length; yet he held his hold, though he was sundry fathoms under water, till he was hauled up by the same rope to the brim of the water, and then with a boat hook and other means got into the ship again, and his life saved; and though he was something ill with it; yet he lived many years after, and became a profitable member both in Church and Commonwealth." Very true. For John Carver would have lost a valuable assistant, the *Mayflower* Compact a sturdy signer, Elizabeth Tilley a devoted and faithful husband, and a very numerous and reputable posterity would have been without an ancestor had not young Howland "held his hold," and been pulled out of those "sundry fathoms" of seething waters and "boat-hooked" into the ship.

IX

There were two deaths on the way over. One was that of a seaman. His going evidently made a deep impression. Bradford calls it "a special work of God's providence." He was "a proud and very profane young man." He seems to have taken a peculiar delight in taunting and tormenting those who were seasick. If they remonstrated he swore at them. Nor did he hesitate to tell them that "he hoped to help cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end." But "before they came half seas over," this boisterous young fellow, with his "lusty, able

Shadow
and sun-
shine

body," and his "haughty" spirit, and his tongue given to "cursing," was smitten with "a grievous disease," from which he failed to rally, "and so was himself the first that was thrown overboard." It is not strange that this tale was made to yield a moral.

The other death was one of the company. William Butten, a servant of Samuel Fuller, passed away when only a few days out from land. As if, however, it was a special purpose of Providence to maintain the count of these pious voyagers unbroken to the end, a son, who, in the name Oceanus, was to carry with him as long as he lived a striking reminder of the circumstances in which he had first opened his eyes to the light, had been born into the family of Stephen Hopkins; and thus the number, one hundred and two, which, like certain numbers to the Jews, ought to be held sacred by Congregationalists, was kept good. Singularly enough, when this number had been increased by the birth, on board the ship while she lay at anchor, of Peregrine White, the first English child born in New England, to one hundred and three, it was quickly and painfully reduced to one hundred and two through the death by drowning of Dorothy Bradford, the wife of William Bradford, while he was away with the last exploring party.

X

Up to the point where signs of land began to appear the *Mayflower* had had some rough experiences. To many of the passengers the voyage must have seemed long and trying. As we have seen, violent gales smote them, accidents befell them, and the days and weeks wore on wearily. Still, in what happened to the ship and her freight of men and women, both as respects length of time in crossing the sea and roughness of weather, there was nothing exceptional. The vessel, which nineteen years later bore Madame de la Petrie and her Ursuline companions in a service to which they had dedicated themselves and their all, and the young nuns who had been sent out to found the hospital which a

famous niece of Richelieu had endowed, was seventy-two days in making the passage from Dieppe to Tadousac. Fogs and storms and icebergs conspired to hinder progress; and once it seemed as if the little boat must go down and carry all to a watery grave.

Comparisons, however, while moderating ideas and checking exaggerated statements, do not lift burdens nor soften pangs. We know that the passengers on board the *Mayflower* had to go through a severe and courage-testing ordeal in their late autumn trip across the Atlantic. It must have been like the dawning of a new, bright day after a night of sullen darkness and tempest to discover tokens of land, and to realize that the shores of the New World which were beckoning them to its freedom and its opportunities were not far away.

Early on the morning of Friday, November twentieth — so, after having corrected evident mistakes made by some of the chroniclers of the event and reconciled conflicting statements, the best authorities have concluded — the wished-for coast was sighted. The ship was off Cape Cod. The captain probably knew where he was. Indeed, Bradford says, "The which being made and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful." Other masters, Gosnold and Smith, Waymouth and Hudson, and many besides, had sailed these waters, and given such descriptions of the headlands and bays, that an experienced seafaring man could not well mistake the locality.

XI

But this was not thought to be the right spot at which to make the landing. The plan was "to find some place about Hudson's River for their habitation." Hence "after some deliberation had amongst themselves and with the master of the ship they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward." At the start the weather was good and the wind was fair; and had these conditions continued the run to the mouth of the Hudson could not have been a

long one. But the ship, already strained and weakened, was on a treacherous coast in a treacherous month of the year. At the end of a half day the wind failed, and the captain and his company found themselves "amongst dangerous shoals and roaring breakers; and they were so far entangled therewith as they conceived themselves in great danger." They "put about" and bore back again to the cape, "and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's providence they did."

It has been asserted on early authority, and generally believed, that Captain Jones was bribed by the Dutch to see to it that the Pilgrims did not land at the mouth of the Hudson River. Nathaniel Morton, in his "New England's Memorial," issued in 1669, asserts, and he repeats and emphasizes the assertion, that Jones was "fraudently hired" "to dissappoint them in their going thither." "Of this plot betwixt the Dutch and Master Jones" he avowed that he "had late and certain intelligence." This statement, so positive and unqualified, has been widely accepted by subsequent writers. Without going very much into the controversy it seems to me only just to say that my judgment falls in unhesitatingly with the conclusion reached by those who have affirmed "that the Dutch could not have bribed Captain Jones."

There is more plausibility in the suggestion, or rather positive avowal of Ames, that there was a conspiracy in which, not the Dutch, but Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain Jones were the principal parties. Gorges was a man of intelligence and of positive and commanding influence. He was deeply interested in New England affairs. Master Jones was "the very willing and subservient ally and tool of Gorges, and had been such for years." The Dutch had absolutely no motive for trying to prevent the Pilgrims from settling in what was popularly supposed to be their territory. Gorges and his associates had every motive for attracting settlements farther north. The purpose was, "if there was a conspiracy," "to secure these planters as colonists" for their own lands. Gorges and his "Council for New England" had failed in their

attempts to found colonies in the New World. Failure was inevitable in view of the material used — “a somewhat notable mixture of two of the worst elements of society — convicts and broken-down ‘gentlemen.’” These Leyden people were of another sort and would not fail them. Hence the bold scheme “by which the Pilgrim Colony was to be stolen bodily” and set down in the wilderness where it would do the conspirators the most good.

The proofs brought forward to establish this contention are hardly convincing. It is easier to accept the facts which lie open to view on the face of the statements made by those close at hand and most deeply concerned in the issue. Captain Jones was no saint. He was not overcharged with the milk of human kindness. He was not crossing seas and facing storms in the spirit of a philanthropist. He was an old sea-dog patterned after the type of his day. It is no doubt true that his record was not to his credit. But when we think of the real perils of the situation there in the shoals off Monomoy, and what a prudent master would surely do, and when the statement made by Bradford, who had amplest opportunity at the time of writing his “History,” to know all that was to be known in a matter of this kind, are carefully weighed, there seems to be no solid ground on which to base the charge so long lodged against Jones of having conspired with the Dutch, or with Gorges, or anybody else to defeat the aims of the Pilgrims. It may be that this was another of the many instances where the wrath of man is made to praise the Lord; but it is perfectly evident that whether through treachery, or by accident, or under the direct providence of God, the landing was made where, though the immediate outlook was stern and forbidding, the best opportunities for individual action were open, and the largest results of freedom and righteousness were possible.

XII

On Saturday, November twenty-first, the valiant but weather-beaten ship rounded Long Point and let go her anchors within what is now the harbor of Provincetown. She was safely sheltered at last.

Safe at anchor

*"And there the Mayflower, folding up her wings,
Like a tired sea-bird, round her anchor swings."*

Not quite, but almost, four months had been exhausted in getting from their starting-point in Holland to the borders of the country they sought. Another month of which we are to take note must pass in prayer and eager watching and wearisome exploring and earnest consultation before a site for settlement could be definitely fixed. Still it was much for these Pilgrims to have their backs turned on the wide swelling ocean, and their feet again planted on the "firm and stable earth—their proper element." Whatever troubles might be in store for them in the days to come, the book of their past troubles was a closed volume. They were in a new environment, and they were to live their lives under new conditions.

When it was all over, and their sails were furled, and the winds from the shore were bringing them the refreshing odors of pine and juniper and sassafras, it is easy to imagine the exceeding and grateful gladness in which the hearts of these devout souls swelled, and the promptness with which they fell on their knees and thanked God. One can easily imagine the intense fervor with which they acknowledged the guiding hand and protecting care of the Almighty, and expressed their thanks for signal deliverances from dangers and miseries. They did not wait until "they trod the wintry strand" before sounding their notes of recognition and praise; but ere they set foot on the coveted shore, "with prayer and psalm they worshiped" God.

X

AN EVENTFUL MONTH

And the heavy night hung dark
 The hills and waters o'er,
 When a band of exiles moored their bark
 On the wild New England shore.

FELICIA HERMAN.

New Plymouth was not built and peopled by persons wholly independent of each other. . . . They came there a united body of men, bound together by solemn compact, men of one heart and one mind, intent on the same purpose, and that a holy one.—JOSEPH HUNTER.

Such men make not only the true church but the true state.

JOHN D. LONG.

In the cabin of the *Mayflower* not only was the foundation-stone of republican institutions on this continent laid, but the first New England town-meeting was held and the first elective officer chosen by the will of a majority.—WILLIAM T. DAVIS.

In New England the Puritan theocracy died almost at birth; but the free government of Plymouth, Dorchester, Massachusetts, Maine, and finally of all in one, blossomed into the free republic that has become the first great power in the world.—CURTIS GUILD, JR.

O noble commencement of the foundations of an enterprise, like which the world never saw before, nor probably will ever see again! Within half an hour's sail of the . . . place where they were to abide all the rest of their pilgrimage, they moored at the island, and would not again set sail that day, or take an oar in hand, or do aught of worldly work, because it was the Lord's Day.—GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

It is on account of the virtue displayed in its institution and management, and of the great consequences to which it ultimately led, that the Colony of Plymouth claims the attention of Mankind.

JOHN G. PALFREY.

X

AN EVENTFUL MONTH

IT was a month to a day from the time the *Mayflower* dropped her anchor within the shelter of Cape Cod to the time the Pilgrims set foot on Plymouth Rock. The month was a strenuous one, full of labors, anxieties, watchings, searchings, sorrows, baffled hopes, and final triumphs. The things said and done within this period make an illuminating chapter in the history of our forefathers. The way they had in emergencies of falling back on fundamental principles, their habit of sturdy application to whatever business might be in hand, the courage with which they faced dangers and rose superior to disappointments and griefs, and their unflinching loyalty to divine institutions and commands, have splendid illustration in the record of those few weeks, and deserve careful study.

I

This eventful month opened with the drafting and signing of the Mayflower Compact. The transaction took place down in the narrow cabin of the ship on the forenoon of the day on which the harbor was entered and sails furled. When the anchor was dropped the Pilgrims had a civil constitution and a government. They were an inconsiderable people, small in numbers, without wealth or standing, and remote from all civilized nations; but they were a state. They had an organic law, written out and subscribed by their own hands, chosen rulers and a policy. Some day this state, insignificant and unknown as it then was, might be heard from, back on the other side of the

waters! Possibly George III, when his turn should come to sit on the throne, might have to take note of it!

There were two reasons for drawing up and adopting this compact.

The first was that there were ominous whisperings and muffled threats of insubordination and a break-up of the colony. This is Bradford's explanation of the transaction. It was "occasioned partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship. . . . That when they came ashore they would use their own liberty." These "strangers amongst them" were some of the accessions to the colony which had been made at Southampton. Having joined the company in the expectation that they were to land at the mouth of the Hudson, they may have claimed that landing somewhere else absolved them from their obligation to the company. It will be recalled that this was the ground taken by Hopkins when he had shipped to go to Virginia and was cast away on the island of Bermuda. Hopkins was one of the Southampton contingent, and he was not a man to hide his light under a bushel; but even though he himself had kept still about it, others might have known of his opinions and conduct. Billington was powder which any little spark would inflame. At any rate, it was well to nip insubordination in the bud.

The second reason was that, unless something of this sort were done, the colony would be left without law. Until this compact was adopted there was no authority to which appeal could be made to preserve order and enforce justice. This again is Bradford's explanation: "For none had power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia, and not for New England, which belonged to another government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to do." Hence the instrument. For these astute statesmen concluded that an act of this nature, drawn up and signed by all the responsible persons of the company, especially when all circumstances were duly considered, "might be as firm as any patent, and in some respects more sure." John Pierce, one of the Adventurers, held a

patent in the interest of the colonists; but this patent was from the London Virginia Company; and the charter of this company covered no rights to territory on which the Pilgrims were about to land. On the contrary, this whole region was under the control of the company of which Ferdinando Gorges was the leading spirit. This company had been known as the Second or Plymouth Virginia Company; but it had been changed or merged into "The Council for New England." It is this fact that the territory to be occupied had been granted to the company with which Gorges was so closely identified, which lends color to the charge strenuously maintained by Dr. Ames that the bribing of Captain Jones was not by the Dutch, but by Gorges. As has been said already, it does not seem to me that Jones was bribed at all. Be that as it may, however, the Pilgrims knew of no authority which they could invoke, and that if they had any law they must make it for themselves. This is what they did — made a law for themselves.

The Mayflower Compact is an immortal document. It is justly counted one of the most important contributions ever made to the civic thought of the world. The tender reverence in which it ought to be read will be increased if we remember that of the forty-one who affixed their names to it, twenty were dead before the end of the following March. Carver was not one of the twenty, but he soon followed.

"In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are under-written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; Defender of the Faith, etc.

"Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first Colony in the northern part of Virginia; do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a Civil Body Politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and, by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances,

acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient, for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

"In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names. Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth; and of Scotland, the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini, 1620."

This narrow cabin was indeed the "Cradle of a Commonwealth;" and it was more. Bancroft declares that "popular constitutional liberty" had its birth in the Mayflower Compact. Goldwin Smith says: "It is true that this covenant was not a political manifesto; it is not less true that it heralded a polity of self-government, and may take rank among the great documents of history." This distinguishes precisely between what the instrument was and what it was not, and characterizes it with a nice accuracy. It was not a "political manifesto," such as a scheming cabal, or a league of true and patriotic revolutionists might issue; but it was a "polity of self-government." These men were imposing equal laws on all and giving to all an equal chance. They were setting up Democracy. They were organizing society on the basis of common rights. They were enacting political equality. They were insuring the stability and order of government by making each subject a part of it. They were conquering their prejudices and delivering a fatal blow against class distinctions. It has been claimed that age and not social standing was the determining factor in the signatures made to the compact. Age, as in all the relations and transactions of life, had to do with the signing, of course, but those signatures, one after another, were a thrust straight in the face of social pretensions. It was man for man, and the simple manhood in each man was what counted. It was a recognition, clear and simple, that man

"... has a right because he is a man,
And not because he is a kind of man."

Some were better than others; some were more intelligent; some were richer; some surpassed others in wisdom and experience and capacity to rule their little state; but all were recognized, and their rights were duly protected. The liberty of which poets through the ages had been dreaming, and about which philosophers had been speculating, and over which tyrants had been striding with ruthless disdain, and for which patriots had been dying — the liberty which is regulated by law, but which under the regulation loses none of its sweetness or vitality, had here emergence and gracious crowning. The question ceased to be, "Is he master, or is he servant?" and became, "Is he a man?" Carver and Howland, Winslow and Soule, Hopkins and Dotey, Fuller, the beloved physician, and Alden the cooper, subscribed to the compact on the basis of a common standing. The central idea of it all was mutual rights and obligations — the right of each to his own individual liberty, and to a voice in regulating affairs which were common to all alike and in determining the public policy; and the obligation of each to use his liberty as not abusing it, and to subordinate his mere selfish aims to the common good, and to make of their body politic a genuine human brotherhood. The kingdom of God cometh not with observation. Those obscure statesmen down in the cabin of the *Mayflower* were beginning to write, and to teach the world to write Man with a capital letter.

II

The ship was at anchor and in a safe harbor. There was no imminent danger to be feared from storms and raging seas.

Nevertheless, the situation was forlorn. It is only in a dull or selfish mood that one can escape the pathos there is in Bradford's words as he describes the state in which they were at the critical hour when the voyage was behind them, but all was dark and uncertain before them. "But here I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amazed at this

poor people's present condition. . . . They had no friends to welcome them, nor inns to entertain or refresh their weather-beaten bodies, no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succor. . . .

The immediate outlook It was winter, and they that know the winters of the country know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? . . . What multitudes there might be of them, they knew not. Which way soever they turned their eyes — save upward to the heavens — they could have little solace or content in respect to any outward objects. All things stared upon them with a weather-beaten face; and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage hue." These words outline the situation exactly as it was. It is to be remembered, however, that they were written many years after the event. At the time there was no inclination on the part of these determined pioneers of religious and civil freedom to indulge in vain sentimentalism or to count up obstacles to success. They had crossed the ocean for a high and holy purpose; and the opportunity to realize this purpose was now before them, and they went about it.

It was well on in the day on which the harbor was made, before any of the passengers could land. On account of the shallowness of the water the ship was obliged to come to anchor three-quarters of a mile from shore. This made landing inconvenient and involved besides a good deal of peril to health. For the people "going on shore, were forced to wade a bow-shot or two; which caused many to get colds and coughs." But so near to it, there was both a need and an eagerness to set foot on solid earth. The ship was out of wood, and there was a strong desire "to see what the land was, and what inhabitants they could meet with." So "fifteen or sixteen men, well armed, were set ashore." They saw no persons and they came upon no habitations. But they got some idea of the lay of the land,

of the nature of the soil, and of the kind of trees of which the forests were composed. "All wooded with oaks, pines, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, vines, ash, walnut," was the report. At night these fifteen or sixteen returned, with a boat loaded with "juniper, which smelled very sweet and strong." This was the kind of wood they "burnt the most part of the time" they remained at the cape.

Sunday was holy time to the Pilgrims, and they made it a day of rest. Of this there will be more to say in another paragraph.

III

It was not until Wednesday that things were in readiness to enter upon the serious business of finding a place for settlement.

The first Monday was devoted to getting the shallop
explo- — "a sloop-rigged craft of twelve or fifteen
ration tons," which had been brought in the ship —
out of the narrow quarters in which she had
been stowed, that the carpenters might begin at once to put
her in trim for needed service. This, by the way, proved to
be a much longer job than was expected, "sixteen or seven-
teen days." More of the people went on shore — the men
and young folks "to refresh themselves," and the women
"to wash." Fresh water with which to do washing must
have been a special boon to these English dames, who, in
addition to their own fine instincts, had had a dozen years
of Dutch teaching in the art of cleanliness. Meantime, on
this and the following days, swords, muskets, and corslets
were put in order for an expedition of discovery.

On Wednesday the work of exploration was taken up in
an earnest and orderly fashion. Sixteen men, of whom
Standish was leader, and to whom Bradford, Hopkins, and
Tilley "were joined for council and advice" were sent forth,
or rather, not so much sent forth, as according to the ac-
count given in "Mourt's Relation," permitted in their im-
patience to go forth, in search of a fit spot on which to
settle. Two days were spent in diligent investigation of the
adjacent country.

The party, on landing, proceeded along the shore across the site of what is now Provincetown to Negro Head, and thence past East Harbor, and on by a pond, named Fresh Water Pond, until they reached Pamet River. Here they doubled on their tracks, and returned by nearly the same course as that on which they had come. All the movements of these explorers were guarded and cautious. The first night out they built a barricade, and by turns of three kept watch till morning. The second night they threw what protection they could about themselves, and arranged and posted their sentinels, but the rain poured down, and they were exceedingly uncomfortable.

Some interesting discoveries were made. On the first day they saw a half-dozen Indians; but they could not get near them. Later they came upon Indian graves. Not knowing what they were they uncovered them. On ascertaining that these mounds held the bones of the natives of the forest, they reverently covered them.

They found a considerable quantity of maize. Goodwin has reproduced the story in this fresh fashion: "Not far away was a heap of sand which had been recently patted over with hands. Examination showed it to contain a small old basket of shelled corn, while farther down was a large new basket, round and narrowed at the top, holding three or four bushels of maize, including thirty-six whole ears, some yellow, some red, and some mixed with blue, such as one sees often in the Cape Cod granaries of to-day." Near to the Indians' store of corn there was also "found a great kettle which had been some ship's kettle, and brought out of Europe." These two discoveries were too much for the Pilgrims. Here was the corn which they sorely needed, and which they were to need still more sorely in the near future, especially the corn, which was still unshelled and was therefore the more suitable for seed. Here, too, was the kettle in which to carry the corn. The question was two-sided. On the one side was self-preservation; on the other was right. Was the demand for self-preservation so clear and

imperative that it could be reconciled to the right to take what did not belong to them? This is the way they reasoned: "We were in suspense what to do with it, and the kettle; and, at length, after much consultation we concluded to take the kettle and as much of the corn as we could carry away with us. And when our shallop came, if we could find any of the people, and come to parley with them, we would give them the kettle again, and satisfy them for the corn. So we took all the ears, and put a good deal of loose corn in the kettle, for two men to bring on a staff. Besides, they that could put any into their pockets filled the same. The rest we buried again; for we were so laden with armour that we could carry no more." The ethical quality of this act has been sharply debated. It has always seemed to me something to be regretted that the kettle and the corn were taken.

Besides the things already noted, four springs of water were discovered; fowl were found in plenty; and deer were seen. Indeed, Bradford, to the great amusement of the other members of the party, was caught by a simple, bent-sapling deer-trap, such as the Indians knew well how to construct. With the future governor's familiarity with the Scriptures, he must have thought of the passage in one of the greatest poems ever written:

"For he is cast into a net by his own feet,
And he walketh upon the toils.
A gin shall take him by the heel,
And a snare shall lay hold on him.
And a noose is hid for him in the ground,
And a trap for him in the way."

At length, after much tramping and a variety of incidents, and some rather exciting experiences as well, tired and hungry, with clothes soiled and torn from crossing creeks and pushing through tangled thickets and climbing over fallen timbers, the explorers returned to the ship. They had gathered some facts, and knew a little more of their environment; yet the better part of three days given to the search had disclosed no fit place for a settlement.

IV

Before venturing on a second exploration, it was thought wiser to wait until the repairs on the shallop were finished; or so nearly finished as to admit of the use of the boat. As has been said already, making these repairs was a much more tedious piece of work than had been anticipated. She had to be "cut down," whatever that may mean, "in bestowing her betwixt the decks." Then "she was much opened with the peoples lying in her." Naturally it took considerable time to make a craft in this condition seaworthy. In consequence of this delay, it was not until the tenth day after the first exploring party had come in that another was ready to go out.

This second exploring party was larger than the first one had been, and it was differently organized. The captain of the ship was getting impatient. He wanted to hoist sail and weigh anchor for the home voyage. It is evident, moreover, that he thought the Pilgrims were dilly-dallying, or were too fastidious in their selection of a place for residence. Hence he offered to go himself on the hunt for a site. His offer was accepted, and these shrewd colonists made him the leader in the search. There were thirty-four in all in this second company of explorers — Captain Jones, with nine of his sailors, and twenty-four picked men of the Pilgrims.

On Monday morning, with bodies refreshed by a Sabbath of rest, and spirits quickened by a Sabbath of worship, this large company started on their important quest. It was in sooth a holy grail — a home in the wilderness, liberty to live in the world and work out their true destiny and move forward on the line of the will of God unmolested, which they sought; and the seekers were a band of chaste knights. It was late in November, and the day was one to give more than a hint of what might be expected in the rapidly approaching months of winter. "It blowed and did snow all that day and night, and froze, withal." Six inches of snow fell. The shallop could make no headway against the

fury of the winds. She had to seek shore; and this she did only a little distance from the ship, where she waited through the night for better weather. In this instance the long boat appears to have been drafted into service to aid the party in reaching land. But from both craft the explorers had to wade in order to reach the shore. Getting to shore, they plodded on for miles; and for the remainder of the day and the night took care of themselves as best they could.

The next day the storm had abated. The party returned to the shore, and were met by the shallop and carried along to the Pamet River. This is the point **Exploration** which was reached by the preceding party of **continued** explorers. It was clear that opinion, to some extent at least, was gravitating to this locality as a fit spot on which to make a final stand. Setting out from here a wider circuit was traversed, and a more thorough inspection of the place was made than on the previous visit. They went up the longer of the two branches of the Pamet, followed by the shallop, for four or five miles. Some of these resolute, home-seeking Pilgrims would have stood it longer, and gone further, though all of them "were tired with marching up and down the steep hills, and deep valleys, which lay half-a-foot thick with snow." But the order to halt came from their leader. "Master Jones, wearied with marching, was desirous we should take up our lodging." The captain could meet the challenge of a howling tempest at sea, and stand undaunted at his post on shipboard in midnight darkness; but threading his way through forests, tramping up and down hills, wallowing in snow, and climbing over underbrush, very soon dampened his ardor for exploration, and made him quite willing that the people who were intimately concerned with the business should do the searching for a settlement site. In other words, he was a hardy old tar, but a poor sort of landlubber. "So," as one who was of the party puts it, "we made there our rendezvous for that night under a few pine trees; and, as it fell out, we got three fat geese and six ducks to our supper, which we ate with soldiers' stomachs, for we had eaten little all that day."

In the morning, after this day of hard and fruitless toil, the resolutions, even of those who had been most ready the night before to go on and prosecute the search, seemed to fail them. Instead of pushing into places they knew not, they took as direct a course as they could towards those "heaps of sand" where they had found and taken and also left corn, when they were there before—left it because there was more than they could carry away. Besides the pits which they had uncovered and found stored with the precious grain on the previous visit, they discovered others as well; and in all, that is, on both occasions, they managed to get together "about ten bushels." This was an ample supply for seed. "And sure it was God's good providence," as one of their writers has left on record, "that we found this corn; for else we know not how we should have done." For the moment they seem to have forgotten the story of Elijah and the ravens. It would have been better to buy before taking possession.

Jones had not discovered a site, but he very soon discovered that he had had enough of this exploring experience.

The weather was threatening, and he thought it prudent to go back to the shelter of the ship. So he went "home," and with him were sent the "weakest people, and some that were sick and all the corn."

Eighteen, or just three-quarters of the Pilgrims of the party, remained, "to make further discovery." They spent the night in this vicinity. The next day they

made their way five or six miles into the woods. They found more mounds, and opened them.

Curious things greeted their eyes in one of these graves; a piece of board three-quarters of a yard long, "finely carved and painted," and bowls, trays, dishes, and "such like trinkets." It was the grave of one of the captives of a French vessel which had been wrecked a few years before on Cape Cod, and whose officers and crew had fallen into the hands of the Indians. They also stumbled upon some wigwams, whose structure and rude furnishings they examined with care. Along with other things in these

Indian dwellings, they found wooden bowls, trays, dishes, earthen pots, baskets — some curiously wrought in black and white, with pretty patterns, and others made of crab-shells; also vessels full of parched acorns, silk-grass, tobacco and other seeds, and stuff to be woven into mats. Some of these things they took away with them; but through haste in leaving the ship they had failed to bring along some of the articles with which they had hoped to conciliate their favor and open up trade with the Indians. This was left for another time.

Thursday night, succeeding the Monday on which they had started, found the second exploring party back and snugly housed in the ship. So far as the main object of these two explorations was concerned, the planters were no further along than when they began their search — no further along save that they had discovered one place, if no more, where they did not wish to begin a settlement. As has been said before, opinion to some extent had been gravitating toward the region round about the mouth of the Pamet River as a suitable locality for pitching tents and making their homes.

As was the custom of the Pilgrims in matters of moment, the question was threshed out in a free interchange of opinion. No doubt the debate was a somewhat warm one. The known impatience of the captain of the ship, and his eager desire to have a decision speedily reached, would be likely to give point to the different views as they should be expressed by one and another. Those in the affirmative said: that the mouth of the river afforded a convenient harbor for boats, though too shallow for ships; that lands in the vicinity were good for corn; that the waters about the cape were full of fish; that the locality beyond question would prove to be healthy; that the winter was close upon them; that their supply of rations was running short, and that the ship might slip away from them on short notice and leave them to shift as best they might. It was a pretty substantial array of arguments, and the inference that it behooved them to act promptly and fix on some spot to which they could repair and begin the work of home-build-

ing, does not seem illogical. Those in the negative said: that according to reports which had reached them while still in the old country, there was a much better place off twenty leagues to the north of them; that probably there might be a much more eligible place near by which a little further search would disclose; that the water for drinking in the locality for which the others were contending was not satisfactory, and that in general the mouth of the Pamet River would not meet the requirements of the colony. For these reasons, those who stood on the negative side in the debate thought it wise to continue the search, and not decide on a locality which did not suit them until they were obliged to do so. This view prevailed; but it was the understanding, or rather agreement, that the search should be confined to the region of the bay, and on no account be extended as far as Agawam, now Ipswich, which was the point twenty leagues away. This was progress by elimination. So, after all, some headway had been made.

V

After these days given to discussion, and when the conclusion just mentioned had been reached, the third exploring party went forth. There were eighteen in all. Ten of them were Pilgrims. These ten "were appointed," but they "were of themselves willing" to go. This is the shining list: Standish, Carver, Bradford, Winslow, John Tilley, Edward Tilley, Howland, Warren, Hopkins, and Dotey. There were two seamen who were in the service of the colonists — Allerton and English. Two of the captain's mates, Clarke and Coppin, also accompanied the explorers, and added greatly to the efficiency of the company. Besides these, the master gunner and three sailors went along. It is easy to see that this party was organized on the basis of something to be done.

Rather late in the day on the Wednesday next after the Thursday on which the second exploring party had re-

turned to the ship, the third party set out. Repairs on the shallop had been at length completed, and the boat was in good trim for the rough work she was about to undertake. This time there was a definite point in view, though the knowledge of where that point might be was exceedingly vague.

Coppin, one of the two mates just mentioned, had been on this coast before, and he told of a great river and good harbor lying over against Cape Cod, and not much more than eight leagues away. His recollections of localities were hazy, but he was sure that somewhere in the near region there was an inviting harbor and a good place to settle. The mate remembered this place from a little incident which was associated with it, though the incident stood out in his mind with a good deal more vividness than the locality itself. When he was there on a previous occasion, "one of the wild men, with whom they had some trucking, stole a harping iron," or harpoon, "from them," and hence "they called it Thievish Harbor." This was none other than Plymouth Harbor; and it was the point beyond which the explorers were not to go.

The weather was severe and the winds were high. The oarsmen had a hard struggle in getting past Long Point. Before they could hoist sail and make the smoother water of a lee shore, Edward Tilley and the gunner were both very ill. It was so "cold" that "the water froze on the clothes of the party, . . . and made them many times like coats of iron." Men not in the best physical condition, or not hardened to this kind of exposure, were little fitted for such arduous undertakings. But when once under some measure of shelter from the fierce wind that was blowing, the boat made tolerable headway, and keeping as near the coastline as the shallow water would permit, steered by the mouth of the Pamet River past the entrance to Wellfleet Bay, and on for twenty miles or more to a point off from what is now Eastham. Here the party landed — though it was by the usual method of much wading, and encamped for the night. Indians had been seen on the beach, cutting up a stranded grampus, and special precautions were taken against surprise or attack under the cover of darkness by

the savages. In the morning the explorers divided their force — some going by boat and some on foot, for examining the harbor facilities of the bay of Wellfleet and the adjacent country. Nothing satisfactory was discovered. At the close of the day, faint with hunger and wearied with their long tramping, both divisions of the party returned to nearly the same spot where they had rested the night before. The next day had in it some thrilling adventures. In the middle of the night the sentries had heard an alarming sound, and the company was aroused from sleep. A couple of shots were fired, and nothing more was heard of the invaders. But early in the morning, while eating their breakfast, the Indians fell upon them, and they realized that "showers of arrows" might be something other than a figure of speech. However, as this story of the attack and repulse falls into another chapter — a chapter in which the mutual relations and dealings of the Pilgrims and Indians are to be fully narrated, no further reference need be made to it in this connection.

After this encounter the whole party boarded the shallop, and set out for the destination which was vaguely in the mind of Coppin — though with the intention of stopping short of that harbor should they come upon a satisfactory landing-place on the way. As the wind was favorable, they decided to sail along the coast, and examine the country with as much care as they could. But while the wind was still from the right quarter, after an hour or two it began to snow and rain. In the middle of the afternoon the wind increased, and the sea was very rough. With such a storm upon them, and darkness rapidly approaching and in utter ignorance of the coast, it is no wonder that all the canvas the boat could carry was spread, and that the craft was crowded to the limit. But the storm and the crowding brought a double disaster: "the hinges of the rudder broke," and two men had to do what steering they might with oars, and to add to the difficulties, "the mast was split in three pieces." The danger was imminent. The coast along which the furious winds were driving them was one which has no mercy for stranded seafarers.

If, however, the wind was contrary, the tide was on the side of the struggling explorers, and bore them into the harbor. But inside they were in as much peril as they had been outside, for the mate, who had been piloting them, soon discovered that he was mistaken in thinking he knew where he was. Instead, he was as much in the dark as any of them; and had his directions been followed and had the boat been borne "up northward," they had surely been lost. "But a lusty seaman which steered, bade those who rowed, if they were men, about with her, or else they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. So he bid them be of good cheer, and row lustily; for there was a fair ground before them, and he doubted not but that they should find one place or other where they might ride in safety. And though it was very dark and rained sore, yet in the end they got under the lee of a small island, and remained there all night in safety." In another account written by the same hand, but at an earlier date and when the sense of help from on high was somewhat fresher in his mind, this is the setting which is given to the facts: "Yet still the Lord kept us; and we bare up for an island before us; and recovering that island, being compassed about with many rocks, and dark night growing upon us, it pleased the divine Providence that we fell upon a place of sandy ground, where our shallop did ride safe and secure all that night."

What a feeling of relief these simple statements bring to the reader! There are passages in the account which Bradford gives of this fearful struggle with storm and darkness which almost take one's breath away, the danger is so threatening and utter destruction seems so near. But under the guidance of God, and through the counsel of a "lusty seaman" who kept a well-poised head on his shoulders, and by aid of the stout rowing of the men at the oars, they had escaped the perils of engulfing waves and a rock-bound and treacherous coast, and were at rest in a place of safety! They were not relieved from fear of Indians, and the hours of that cold and anxious night must have dragged heavily; but the boat had reached the shore, and they were in no immediate danger of shipwreck. With

what grateful hearts they must have welcomed the morning; and how sweet the sunshine must have been to eyes that had grown weary peering into the storm and trying to penetrate the mystery of the enshrouding darkness. No life had been lost. The boat had been damaged, but not beyond repair. Very soon, too, they discovered that they were where they could tarry for a while unmolested, and refresh their tired bodies and their jaded spirits. In what a temper of thanksgiving and deep yet quiet joy the story is told: "Though this had been a day and night of much trouble and danger unto them, yet God gave them a morning of comfort and refreshing — as usually He does to His children — for the next day was a fair sunshining day, and they found themselves to be on an island, secure from the Indians, where they might dry their stuff, fix their pieces, and rest themselves." Exactly this is what they did. Saturday was given to resting from the fatigue and excitement of the preceding twenty-four hours, thawing out and drying their garments, repairing their shallop, and making up their minds what to do next.

VI

There was one other thing which these Pilgrims did on that Saturday. They made preparations for the due observance of the Sabbath. This single sentence covers what Bradford has to say about it in his "History:" "This being the last day of the week, they prepared there to keep the Sabbath." In "Mourt's Relation" the record is even briefer: "On the Sabbath Day we rested." Here is the announcement of preparation for rest on the Lord's Day, and of the fact that the rest was taken. That is all. But what a wealth of meaning this announcement holds, and what a testimony it bears to the emphasis which these men placed upon the value of the Sabbath to the toiling millions of the world, and also to their sense of obligation to honor what God honors, and to be obedient to divine command. It was an act which

mounts to the sublime. It had in it the calm self-restraint, the lofty heroism, and the unflinching loyalty to principle, which we are wont to associate with martyrdom. It is impossible to contemplate it without a feeling of awe.

In this remarkable instance of Sabbath-keeping on the part of the Pilgrims three facts, each of which is to their glory, and all of them combined to their surpassing glory, are made conspicuous: first, that they had a fixed principle of Sabbath observance; second, that this fixed principle had become hardened into a controlling habit; and third, that under no temptation of bodily ease or material gain could they be betrayed into breaking their established rule. To obey is better than sacrifice, and these men obeyed. All through and everywhere they were consistent. Their action there on Clark's Island in remembering the Sabbath Day to keep it holy was a pattern cut from the same web as the action on the first Sunday at Cape Cod. Both were woven in the loom of conscience. Both showed the profound respect they had for the known will of the Almighty.

We do not, however, get the full significance of this resting on the Lord's Day, and devoting the hours to quiet meditation and communion with God, until we recall the situation, and weigh well the circumstances. On both occasions — the first Sabbath at the cape and this on the island — time was pressing. From the moment the ship came to anchor there was need of the utmost despatch by the colonists in determining on a place for their home. Each passing day increased the urgency. The arguments which had been advanced at the outset, and repeated over and over again for the speedy selection of a site somewhere, grew more and more imperative with each succeeding sunset. The winter which had been approaching so rapidly was now upon them and increasing hourly in its intensity; rations were scant and fast diminishing; many of their number were ill and some were dead; and the master of the vessel was increasingly impatient of delay and in no mood to tolerate inaction and listen to long parleys. Besides all this, the land which they had come to explore lay spread out before them and within easy reach;

they had had the sunshine and warmth of Saturday in which to recuperate and put everything in order for the further pursuit of the object on which they were abroad; there were no crowds of onlookers to be injured by their example; and every hour of the twenty-four in which they lingered after they were ready to move, meant more than gold to them. If there ever was a body of men on earth who were under constraint to lay religious scruples aside, and for once to play false even to deepest convictions, it was these Pilgrims on that Sunday on Clark's Island.

But this is the record: "On the Sabbath Day we rested." They knew the reasons there were for haste and felt the full force of them. They ached from the sting of the cold as others did. They were conscious of the impatience and suffering back in the ship. They were aware of the value of time to them, and permitted no moment which they felt at liberty to call their own to go to waste; but appropriating sacred time to their own worldly ends was quite another thing. God had said: "Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is a sabbath unto the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work." That God had said it was enough. Nothing could induce them to violate a plain precept of the Word. In reverent obedience to the divine law they paused and rested. As Dr. Cheever has well said: "It was a most wonderful consecration of all New England to God, this religious keeping of the first Sabbath Day spent upon its shores." Only, he might better have said, not New England alone, but the nation; for what the Pilgrims did, as the event has proved, was not confined in its influence to the little group of states on our northeastern border, but has carried its blessing to the entire republic. It is eminently fit that members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in appreciation of an act which was to be at once so memorable and suggestive, should have cut into the face of the huge boulder which lies near the middle of the island, and under whose shelter tradition affirms that the Pilgrims conducted their simple worship, the simple but ever-to-be-cherished inscription:

"On the Sabbath Day wee rested." Few deeds in all history are more worthy of commemoration by monument.

To many it may seem to have been an exhibition of over-scrupulousness to keep the Sabbath as these men did on that day on Clark's Island. Perhaps it was. But who is to gainsay the suggestion that God kept the Pilgrims because the Pilgrims kept God's laws? One day in seven, in which the tools of industry are dropped and the noise of mills is hushed and traffic ceases, and thoughts are given to the matters of God, and the soul and the hungers of the higher life are fed, seems to be wrought into the constitution of things as well as to lie at the heart of the economy of right living which has been outlined for us in the revelations which we have of the divine will. It may be that these men, after all, were under the guidance of a Spirit which makes no mistakes, and that in virtue of what some would call their hard-and-fast interpretation of the commandment they reached their end sooner than they would have done by an easy-going interpretation. The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath. Yes. But what was man made for? It is barely possible that when we have got a right idea of the true end and aim of man, we shall see that a somewhat stricter observance of the Sabbath than is at all popular of late, will better accord with the real interests of both individuals and communities. These men kept the Sabbath and God kept them. It will be wiser for us to think there may be some very intimate connection between the two facts. In the matter of Sabbath-keeping, latter-day tendencies, it must be confessed, are not encouraging. There is need of the tonic of Pilgrim loyalty to the letter of the law. The spirit would be better observed if a little more regard were had to the letter. As the Mayflower Compact held in it an import and value touching the equal rights of men and the common duties of citizens quite beyond, it may be, any conception which the signers of that instrument entertained, so it may have been in the purpose of God that the striking observance of Sunday on Clark's Island by those Pilgrim explorers should be a great and unique object-lesson, not alone for the few people who could be crowded within the walls of a

small ship, but for their descendents and the world in all after times. Say what we will, better the strictness of the fathers, than the laxness of the children.

VII

Having observed the Sabbath in the way just indicated, on Monday morning, bright and early, the Pilgrims started out, though we may be very certain it was not until, as was habitual with them, they had had their morning devotions, in the search for a site for their habitation. In the discussion to which reference has been made in a preceding paragraph concerning the essentials of a desirable location for settlement, it developed that these several conditions were thought to be necessary: a good harbor; enough cleared land to insure a crop of maize the first year; a plenty of pure water; general healthfulness; the promise of sea food; and a place easy to be defended and maintained in security. The question was soon to be decided whether the locality in which they then were, met all or the most of these requirements. This is Bradford's account of what was discovered: "On Monday they sounded the harbor, and found it fit for shipping; and marched into the land and found divers cornfields, and little running brooks — a place, as they supposed, fit for situation; at least it was the best they could find, and the season and their present necessity made them glad to accept it." Goodwin, who knew every foot of ground in that region, says: "The harbor, if not excellent, was truly 'the best they could find' between Cape Cod Harbor and Boston Bay; there were the broad cornfields left by the Patuxets only three years before — the only cleared land known to have been thereabouts; while a deliciously pure water filtering from the sandy background danced across the fields to the sea, forming the only group of brooks around Plymouth Bay; the site was protected on the east by the harbor, on the south by a great brook in a ravine, on the west by an abrupt hill of a hundred and sixty-five feet

elevation, and on the remaining side was an open field ready for a palisade which would be covered by cannon on the hill."

Recalling the passage from Bradford, it is to be noticed that no mention is made of any rock on which they landed, or crossed in making their landing. But the evidence both from documents now in existence and from well-authenticated tradition make it clear that the exploring party in going ashore, on December 21, 1620, set foot "upon a large rock," and that the rock on which they stepped was the Plymouth Rock of undying fame. It is the landing on this rock which is now celebrated as Forefathers' Day.

The rock has had a curious history. As the town grew and shipping increased, wharves began to encroach on the site of the rock, and there was danger of its being covered over. To prevent this an attempt was made to raise the rock. This was in 1775, and the effort resulted in splitting the boulder. The upper section was taken to the town square, and, as this occurred just as the Revolution was breaking out, it was deposited at the foot of a liberty pole, from which floated a flag that expressed the purpose of the colonies to have liberty or death. After remaining in that place for about sixty years, it was taken on one Fourth of July and carried in procession, and set down in front of Pilgrim Hall. Forty-six years later this detached piece of the rock was taken back to its rightful place and reunited with the larger piece, and the whole rock is now covered by a canopy, which rests on four columns, and is constructed of granite. This famous rock now presents, as it is supposed, very much the appearance it had when Standish and his associates walked across it on that ever-memorable morning when they rowed over from Clark's Island to the mainland. But though it is not mentioned in their writings, and in stepping upon it they were utterly unconscious of anything save getting to shore the best way they could, yet that rock has been made the symbol of all that the Pilgrim movement stood for in their own and in after ages.

Only a single day was spent by the party in exploring

in the region. They saw enough to convince them that somewhere in that immediate vicinity a proper location for their settlement could be found. The long search was ended. It simply remained to enter and occupy.

VIII

On Tuesday the explorers returned to the ship. They had been absent since the preceding Wednesday. But it was cheering news which they brought. They had suffered great hardships, and their lives had been in peril, but unlike the two parties who had gone before them, they had found a site which they could recommend for settlement.

It was Plymouth. They did not have to name the place. That had been done for them. Fifteen years before, Champlain had sailed into the harbor and christened the locality. His christening was a passing incident. Later, only a half-dozen years before the coming of the *Mayflower*, Capt. John Smith explored the whole coast from eastern Maine to Cape Cod. He entered this same harbor. One of the results of his explorations was a map, drawn by him and said to be remarkably accurate, on which, set over against the spot where the exiles landed, was the name "Plimouth." Grateful for the kindness which they received at the last port from which they sailed, the Pilgrims, we may be sure, were only too glad to adopt the name they found already given to the place, and call their settlement New Plymouth.

But though the party brought back good news, they were greeted with ill tidings. For during their absence death had entered their little circle and claimed two victims. Two days before the explorers left, Edward Thompson had died. On the morning of the day of their departure, Jasper Moore had followed Thompson to his long home. Both were humble members of the colony. The next day after the party had left, Dorothy Bradford, the wife of the future governor, fell overboard and was drowned. The

following day, James Chilton passed away. Here were four deaths in quick succession, and two of them occurred during the absence of the party which had just come back from the discovery of Plymouth. It was enough to make bronzed faces turn pale and stout hearts quiver with pain. It was a bitter foretaste of still bitterer experiences to follow. But there was no drawing back from their self-appointed and divinely directed task.

The master of the ship had declared that he would not leave the anchorage in which they then were until a safe harbor had been discovered. The report brought back by the last exploring party satisfied him and met the views of the colonists. Hence as soon as all were ready, which was not until Friday, the anchor was lifted and sails set for the passage to Plymouth. Winds were adverse and the harbor was not made until the next day. But on Saturday, December 26, 1620, the *Mayflower* came to her moorings in Plymouth Harbor, and the Pilgrims, now at the end of their long journey, were face to face with a little section of the world which they were to sanctify by their presence and immortalize in history.

XI

THE FIRST WINTER AT PLYMOUTH

As one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many—yea in some sort to our whole nation.

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

Next to the fugitives whom Moses led out of Egypt, the little shipload of outcasts who landed at Plymouth are destined to influence the future of the world.—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Of all migrations of peoples the settlement of New England is pre-eminently the one in which the almighty dollar played the smallest part, however important it may since have become as a motive power. It was left for religious enthusiasm to achieve what commercial enterprise had failed to accomplish.—JOHN FISKE.

I regard it as a great thing for a nation to be able, as it passes through one sign after another of its zodiac pathway, in prosperity, in adversity, and at all times—to be able to look to an authentic race of founders, and a historical principle of institution—the extent and permanence of whose influence are of a kind and power—to kindle and feed the moral imagination, move the capacious heart, and justify the intelligent wonder of the world.—RUFUS CHOATE.

Wild was the day, the wintry sea
Moaned sadly on New England strand,
When first the thoughtful and the free,
Our fathers, trod the desert land.

They little thought how pure a light,
With years should gather round that day:
How love should keep their memories bright;
How wide a realm their sons should sway.

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

The sadness and pathos which some might read into the narrative are to me lost in victory. The triumph of a noble cause even at a great price is theme for rejoicing, not for sorrow, and the story of the Pilgrims is one of triumphant achievement. — ROGER WOLCOTT.

XI

THE FIRST WINTER AT PLYMOUTH

IN outward incident and impressiveness the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock differed in no essential particular from many another attempt at colonization which history records. Yet this act was epoch-making. It was a turning-point in the progress of mankind. It gave new impulse and direction and hope to the struggling masses of humanity, and made it evident that men who are determined to be free can somehow find a way to accomplish their object. From the hour when that landing became a demonstrated success, the hatefulness of the tyranny which persecutes for fidelity to intelligent and honest convictions, has seemed more hateful; and the heroism which is willing to make all sacrifices and endure all hardships for the sake of conscience has seemed more heroic. Ever since that event, now lacking less than a score of years of being three centuries ago, when the beacon lights of faith and liberty were kindled anew on the bleak shores of New England, the wisdom of standing by principle and taking wide views of duty, and then trusting to the future for vindication, has had a warmer commendation in the sober judgment of thoughtful minds.

I

When the *Mayflower* reached the harbor of Plymouth nothing was settled except that somewhere in that locality the Pilgrims were to build their homes and lay the founda-

tion of their state. They were through with their wide explorations; but it was still to be determined whether their settlement should be in the vicinity of the rock across which the previous landing had been made, or elsewhere. Hence further examination of the region was necessary.

The ship reached the harbor, it will be recalled, on Saturday. On the Sabbath they rested. The same reasons for haste as on the preceding Sabbath still existed, and the same eager desire to see what was before them and be at their work; but — they rested.

On Monday the master of the ship, aided by three or four sailors, took a party — presumably all of the men who were able to go — ashore. This party went westward, following along the coast but keeping within the woods, for seven or eight miles. They found “four or five small running brooks of very sweet fresh water,” but no navigable river. The soil they judged to be rich. In the forests there was a great variety of trees and many kinds of herbs. Clay of an excellent quality seemed to be in abundance; and what they never failed to magnify — “the best water that ever we drank.” It is evident that these searchers, on this as on former occasions, had a quick eye for everything about them. The days were short; but night found the party weary, and once more aboard the boat.

The next day the same region was explored still more thoroughly. The party, some by land and some in the shallop, pushed their way as far as a stream, which, in honor of the master of the ship, they named Jones River. They went up this stream a number of miles. It was so shallow, however, that they saw it would be of no use to them except at high tide. The place was what is now Kingston; and it had many features to commend it to the colonists. But it was at considerable distance from good fishing-ground; was deeply wooded, and thus would expose them to attacks by the Indians; and clearing up the land and getting it ready for planting was a task quite beyond their strength at that time.

On the same day it appears that the thoughts of some of the party turned to Clark’s Island; and a fresh examina-

tion was made of its advantages. The attractions of the island were that it was "a place defensible and of great security." It was at a safe distance from the mainland. It was well wooded. It was too well wooded, in fact; for as in the locality of Kingston it would be difficult to clear enough for a crop of corn. Another objection was that there was no fresh water, and they feared what might happen to them in the heat of summer.

Night found them all in the ship again. Two days given to this kind of exploration and comparison of localities seemed to them enough; and there was a general understanding that on the next day they would conclude the business by fixing definitely and finally on some point of settlement.

Wednesday dawned upon them. It was to be a momentous day. As was their custom, these Pilgrims "called on God for direction." Then they went ashore. Three places were in their minds — the island, though this place seems to have been practically ruled out before leaving the ship, the region of Kingston, and the vicinity of the rock. Which should it be? The question was to be submitted to vote. The majority were to rule. The conclusion was reached "by most voices to set on the mainland, on the first place, on a high ground, where there was a great deal of land cleared," which had already been "planted with corn three or four years" before, and through which there ran "a very sweet brook," and in which there were "many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunk." This place also afforded "a harbor" for their "shallops and boats," while the brook promised them "much good fish in their season." The urgent question — the question which had been in the minds of some of the leaders for years, and which for the last few weeks had been almost a life-and-death question with all of them, was fully decided. The spot where the Pilgrims were to fix their habitation and work out their destiny was forever settled. Years later, when the affairs of the colony were thought to be in a crisis, the question of removing or remaining where they were was to be a subject of debate; but there was to be no change. The decision given by the

helpful to the Kingdom might grow out of their movement and example. But God, who was behind them and around them and in them, was thinking of many things. Beyond the horizon which shut in their narrow human vision He saw a mighty empire emerging — an empire with laws and institutions and customs and life informed and dominated by such a spirit of equal rights and justice as was never before seen in any nation on earth. They “felled and carried timber” to provide themselves “stuff for building;” but they were building more stately mansions than they knew.

III

Before they began erecting their houses, the Pilgrims had a general idea of the way in which their little town was to be laid out, and of the order in which their successive buildings were to be put up. The immediate exigency of the settlement seemed to call for nineteen, or as some say, eighteen houses; for by assigning the single men to the circles which could most conveniently receive them, the whole colony could be accommodated by this number of families. A street running back from the water to the hill was marked out, and the houses were to stand on either side of the street. Each family was to build its own house, and the location of each was to be determined by lot. The street is still there, and it is now known as Leyden Street.

In addition to these residences for the several families, the plan on which the Pilgrims were proceeding required the construction of what they called a “common-house.” It seemed advisable to put this up at once, in order that there might be a place for shelter and storage of goods. What with inclement weather and sickness and accidents by fire, though it had been in partial use before the end of that time, it took a month to get this small rough structure of twenty by twenty ready for service. To complete their outfit of buildings, there was to be a platform on the hill — first a platform and then a fort — on which their guns could be mounted. Glimpses which were caught now



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PLYMOUTH IN 1622

and then of Indians prowling about, and evidences which they had of their nearness to them on occasions when they were not seen, naturally hurried work on this military defense. In a little more than two months two large cannon, one weighing fifteen hundred pounds and the other twelve hundred, and still "another piece that lay on shore" whose weight is not given, with two smaller pieces weighing each about two hundred pounds, were placed in position, and made ready to do execution in the hour of need.

IV

Only seven of the nineteen houses were built, and the first one of them to be completed was turned into a temporary hospital. For, in spite of all they could do, **Sickness** tides of disaster and desolation kept rolling **and death** in on these devoted Pilgrims. The refrain of their story from the closing days of December till the closing days of March, when the sun began to mount higher in the sky, and the buds to swell, and the air to have some softness in its caress, was death. Brave, sweetly patient, faithful, at times not quite assured of what the outcome of it all was to be, but confident in God, it was yet but a dirge-like music which rolled through the souls of the men and women of this little stricken community. December saw six of them fold their hands and go hence; January eight; February seventeen; and March thirteen. Governor Carver followed in April, and Mrs. Carver in June. Before their first year was ended, so many of those who had set out in the *Mayflower* for the voyage to America had gone to their final account that the obituary list was carried up to fifty-one — just one-half of the hundred and two. Arber, in his classification, adds the two children, Oceanus Hopkins and Peregrine White, who were born before the *Mayflower* reached Plymouth, to the passenger list with which the vessel left England, and in this way increases the number to one hundred and four. But he puts the record of deaths at fifty-three, which leaves the survivors at fifty-one, as just given.

folded their
hands
like
Peregrine White
born by
Mrs. Paul

V

How explain a death-roll so startling? What were the causes of this wide-sweeping and fatal malady? The answer lies on the surface, and yet no single statement covers the case.

Causes of
sickness

First of all it must be remembered that the colonists were quite unused to the kind of life they had to meet on shipboard, and to the exposures and hardships which they had to encounter on landing on an uninhabited shore. For twelve years the work of the most of them had been indoors; and they had been wholesomely fed and well sheltered from storm and heat and cold. To be thrust from comfortable homes and quiet employment in Holland into the unexplored wilds of North America in the winter season was a change ominous of disaster. Then the long voyage, the narrow accommodations which their small ship must have offered to so large a company, and their limited diet, predisposed them to serious distempers and ailments. On reaching Cape Cod, a large majority of the company must have been in condition to invite disease. Nor must we overlook in our search for the causes of so much fatal sickness the wading from boat to shore and back again, which was necessary through all of the first month after landing, the hard tramping, often when faint from hunger, through rain and sleet and snow; the camping-out and sleeping in wet clothes on the cold, damp earth, with little or no protection against wind and storm, and the anxiety which would inevitably grow out of the situation in which all were placed. If to this list there be added the lack of "houses and other comforts," such as suitable remedies and convenient places for ministering to the sick, and delicacies to nourish the feeble and tempt the appetites of the convalescent, the explanation of the illness which befell the Pilgrims during the first winter of their life at Plymouth becomes so impressive that one wonders how any of them survived.

Here is a passage copied from a paragraph in "Mourt's Relation" which throws a flood of light on our immediate

question. It has reference to experiences while the *Mayflower* was still lying at Cape Cod. "The discommodiousness of the harbor did much hinder us, for we could neither go to, nor come from, the shore but at high water; which was much to our hindrance and hurt. For oftentimes they waded to the middle of the thigh, and often to the knees to go and come from land. Some did it necessarily, and some of their own pleasure; but it brought to most, if not to all, coughs and colds — the weather proving suddenly cold and stormy — which afterwards turned to the scurvy, whereof many died." Another passage, relating to what happened to the explorers when out in search of a site for settlement, is to the same effect. "So we marched some while in the woods, some while in the sands, and other while in the water up to the knees." A sample of frequent statements is: "It blowed and did snow all that day and night, and froze withal. Some of our people that are dead took the original of their death there." Recall the incident of the twenty men, who, after the question of a site had been determined, resolved to stay on shore and go at once about the work of building. Night overtook them before a shelter could be made ready. To increase the discomfort, the rain began to pour, and there was no relief for them until the storm had worn itself out.

True the women and children were not exposed to these nights abroad in the woods and the pelting storms and these freezing turns in the weather. But what they gained by not being out in rain and sleet and storm and where the air was stinging cold, they lost by being closely confined in the ship. The deaths among the women show that they suffered even more than the men from the prevailing scourge.

The two diseases which were so fatal were scurvy and lung troubles. Pneumonia was no doubt the cause of not a few of these deaths. Rheumatic tendencies were seriously aggravated by what had to be endured. Bradford came near dying in consequence of an acute attack of this sort. But the fatal diseases were scurvy and consumption.

VI

The startling death-roll, however, does not tell the whole story. A half-hundred died, but of the half-hundred who lived many were brought nigh unto death. In their time of "most distress," so Bradford relates, there were but six or seven persons left who were in condition to care for the sick and helpless. There, in "the depth of winter," with their scant resources and their fearful exposures, "infected with the scurvy and other diseases" which their long voyage and lack of suitable accommodations had brought upon them, members of the colony were passing through the Valley of the Shadow, "sometimes two or three of a day," with their nearest and dearest ones too ill to minister to them in their closing hours, or even to wave them farewell as they were borne forth on their long journey. Two of those who were so tenderly helpful that they furnished "a rare example and worthy to be remembered," but who were "so upheld of the Lord" that they were not "infected either with the sickness or lameness" were William Brewster and Miles Standish. Well was it for the colony that God spared them.

Of the seventeen wives surviving after the death of Mrs. Bradford, only four were left to answer to their names when a twelvemonth had passed. Thirteen out of the twenty-four married men were gone. Single men, male servants, sons or other relatives, contributed twenty-one to this first year's death-roll. Five of the twelve children succumbed to disease. Four households escaped the infection, but four were completely wiped out. Each of the remaining sixteen lost one or more of its members. They had made no covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and, if they had not broken down their altars, they had in no sense bowed to them; yet through all the months of that desolate and awful winter, Plymouth was a veritable Bochim. Had it not been for their firm resolve, their faith in God, and the help they received from on high, the Pilgrims must have wept themselves into utter despair. The

dead were buried, not on Burial Hill — the spot now so sacred to such a large number of devout and patriotic Americans — but on Coles Hill. This is a little elevation of land not far from the rock. In fear lest the Indians should discover what inroads had been made on their ranks, and how ill-prepared the remnant of the little band must be to resist an attack, the graves were made level with the ground, and the whole plat was smoothed over and sown with grain. This is tradition, but the tradition is well authenticated.

VII

It was exceedingly mournful. Still this was only the common fate of colonies seeking to make a permanent lodgment within our harsh northern latitudes.

A common experience of colonies Back in 1535–36, Cartier and his associates in self-exile attempted to stem the rigors of a cold season in Canada. This is Parkman's account of it: "A malignant scurvy broke out among them. Man after man went down before the hideous disease, till twenty-five were dead, and only three or four were left in health. The sound were too few to attend the sick, and the wretched sufferers lay in helpless despair, dreaming of the sun and the vines of France. The ground, hard as flint, defied their feeble efforts, and, unable to bury their dead, they hid them in snowdrifts." Of the seventy-nine men who remained at the mouth of the St. Croix under De Monts, in 1604–05, thirty-nine died before relief could reach them, and many more were near to death. Champlain in his first winter at Quebec, 1608–09, when he laid the foundation of the town, had twenty-eight men with him. The middle of May found twenty of these men dead, with only four of the remaining eight in condition to do anything. Even in Virginia it was not otherwise. Of the one hundred and five who were landed at Jamestown in May of 1607, and left there to be the nucleus of a settlement by Captain Newport when he sailed back to England, more than half, so says Fiske, were dead before the end of September. Here it was heat rather than cold and a bad location,

which did the mischief. It is still true, however, that more than half the colony succumbed to disease and went hence inside of four months after reaching the New World.

In each of these instances, save that of De Monts at St. Croix, the ratio of the dying to the living was greater — in some far greater — than at Plymouth, while at St. Croix the dead, as among the Pilgrims, was almost exactly one-half of the whole number. But the remarkable fact is that in the cases here cited the groups were made up entirely of men, and not of men, women, and children. Being made up wholly of men, and chiefly of men used to the sea, it is reasonable to suppose that they were accustomed to hardship and privations, and could better stand the brunt of storm, and the icy touch of the hand of winter or the torrid heats of summer, than artisans drawn from the quiet retreats of a Dutch city, or toilers from the rural districts of England. Still this did not prove to be the case. It cannot be otherwise than that the moral quality of the Pilgrims must have counted for much in the disheartening struggle against disease and death. Be this as it may, however, and laying no emphasis on comparisons, these are all records to bring a pallor to the cheek, and show us what first things in conquering nature and building up the institutions of civilized society really cost. It is never anywhere a May-game business, but an undertaking to put faith under bonds, and challenge courage — an undertaking to tax head and hand, heart and soul, to the utmost.

VIII

It is, indeed, over against this dark background of pain and sorrow and disappointment and death that we must study the Pilgrims if we would understand them and appreciate their faith and pluck. Shows stuff of which the Pilgrims were made Rufus Choate, in one of his famous orations, has a passage in which he sets in contrast the courage and fidelity to duty of this little band of colonists, there on the remote edge of the storm-beaten

coast of New England, and the enthusiastic and determined devotion of Leonidas and his small following of three hundred warriors at the pass of Thermopylæ, face to face with the Persians. The Greeks were trained soldiers. Discipline had made their sinews like steel. They were in a temper to front the force of any attack which might be made upon them. Heroic traditions of the past inspired them. The conscious gaze and applause of their fellow-countrymen nerved them to the limit of capacity. In addition to this, their struggle was to be short and sharp. The Pilgrims were a promiscuous company of men, women, and children. They were smitten, bereaved, and before the first year was over reduced to one-half of their original number by disease. They were remote from the world and alone in their desolation. The eyes which were upon them and the hearts which sympathized with them were few, and no one was far-sighted enough to see the end of their hardships. The contrast is to the advantage of the obscure and neglected colony. Well it might be. History is not without many striking instances of consecration to worthy causes and fortitude under trials, but the past affords no exact parallel to the patient and sublime endurance of these God-filled souls.

IX

The Pilgrims had their chapters of mishaps and narrow escapes, as well as their volumes of tragic experience and sorrow.

Mishaps Of the four men sent out to cut wild grass
and narrow for thatch, as the common-house approached
escapes the stage for roofing, two, Peter Brown and John Goodman, strayed off into the woods and were lost. Diligent search was made for them by the other two, but they could not be found. Report of what had happened was made to the colony. It was raining, but Carver took several men with him and continued the hunt. No trace of the missing men could be discovered. The night which followed was an anxious one, for all feared

that the lost men might have been captured by the Indians. The next morning a much larger company, well armed, renewed the search. The effort was fruitless. Meantime the two men, who had not fallen into the hands of the Indians, but had been led astray by a pair of dogs they had with them catching sight of a deer and following it off into the woods, wandered about in hopeless bewilderment until night set in and arrested further attempts to ascertain their whereabouts and get back home. At dusk the rain turned to sleet and snow. There was no shelter. The men were in a pitiable situation. Soon wolves began to howl about them. In case of an attack by these wild beasts, there was no help for them but climbing a tree. The dreaded attack was not made. The wolves drew off. Then the poor fellows might venture to move. As this was the only way they could keep from freezing, they spent the night walking about. When morning came, they renewed their endeavors to find out where they were and make their way back to the settlement. It took them all day. When they did return they were in a sad plight. Goodman's feet were frost-bitten and badly swollen, and he suffered from lameness. "It was a long while after, ere he was able to go." The experience was a sorry one, and it subtracted a unit from the working force of the colony at a time when every man counted.

Following close on the heels of the anxiety occasioned by the failure of Goodman and Brown to turn up when they were expected, there was another scare. This was on Sunday morning. As the search for the wanderers on the preceding Friday afternoon and all day Saturday had been in vain, the fear was general that the two men had fallen victims to the craft and cruelty of the savages. Tidings of what had happened on shore, and of the grave apprehensions which were felt there, had been brought to the ship on Saturday night by returning laborers. It is not difficult to imagine the consternation which filled all breasts in the little company, the talk that went on, and the dreams which disturbed the broken slumbers of the night. In apparent confirmation of all they most dreaded, the early risers on the vessel, looking across the waters of

the harbor, saw the common-house in flames. Only one inference could be drawn — the Indians had set the building on fire. Emboldened, so the reasoning ran, by their success in capturing a couple of their white invaders, they had made a determined assault on the settlement, applied the torch to the half-completed structure, and led away or killed all the members of the company who were on land. What a relief it must have been to ascertain that the fire originated, not in the malice of savage hearts, but by an accidental spark, and that the damage, though the winds were high and helping hands were few and feeble, was only slight. It had been planned to have as many as possible go ashore and worship in the common-house on this Sabbath, but the fire prevented the carrying-out of the arrangement. Still, as they thought of their two companions back again, of the groundlessness of their fears of Indian treachery and assault, of the safety of their property, and of precious lives preserved, the heart of every Pilgrim must have swelled with gratitude; and "Thank God" must have been the warm ejaculation which went up like a song of grateful praise from every lip. A week later, on the last Sabbath and the last day of January, all who were able gathered on shore, and for the first time held their worship in the common-house.

In connection with this fire in the thatch of the common-house at that early hour on Sunday morning, when the wind was blowing a gale, one trembles at thought of a possible loss which would have been more serious than the loss of any number of buildings. When those flames broke out the floor was covered with beds. Carver and Bradford were lying on a couple of them critically ill. Who else was there in the same sore straits we are not told. To add to the peril from flames and sickness, the loaded muskets of the company were in that room. Stored in the same room, too, most likely, was a part of their supply of powder. But the two leaders somehow made a hurried escape, the fire did not reach the guns and ammunition, and there was no explosion. Well might Winslow say: "Blessed be God, there was no harm done." For one cannot contemplate such a disaster as might have befallen Carver and

Bradford then and there, without feeling that the sudden death of these men, in the circumstances in which they then were, would have brought the whole enterprise to an end.

X

There are other matters of grave importance as well as of permanent interest which, in their incipency at least, naturally fall into place in the story of the experiences of the Pilgrims during their first winter at Plymouth. But as these topics are to have an independent and orderly treatment in the pages which follow, no further reference to them seems to be necessary in this connection. There is one event, however, whose record belongs here and nowhere else. It is the sailing away of the *Mayflower* on the homeward voyage. Few incidents in the history of the colony are more tenderly pathetic; few show the resolute purpose, the high courage, the steadfast faith, and the moral elevation of the colonists in a better light.

The ship got off on Thursday, the fifteenth of April. She had been lying at anchor in the harbor of Plymouth since Saturday, the twenty-sixth of December. This was almost four months. The sight of her must have become a familiar and cherished object to the anxious toilers on the shore. But why did the vessel not take her departure at an earlier date? The impatience of Captain Jones with what seemed to him the fastidiousness of the Pilgrims in choosing a site for settlement, and his implied, if not open, threat to dump the whole party and their goods down anywhere on the shore and sail away and leave them to their fate, if they did not act promptly, will be recalled. What made him willing to lengthen out his stay to more than a hundred days after a "place for habitation" had been found and occupied? These reasons are given by Bradford:

It was near the end of December before the colonists were in condition to take any of the freight of the ship on

shore. The fire in the thatch of the common-house delayed preparations for receiving goods on land, and drove some who were weak and ill back to the ship for shelter. Very soon sickness began to increase among them to an alarming extent, and the people were practically helpless. Considering the facts — so many smitten by disease and so many already dead — the governor and his advisers thought it wise to retain the ship until they could see how matters were to turn with them. The Indians were a menace which they were not able to dismiss from their minds, and until they could get things on shore in a posture for defense, it seemed necessary to have the vessel near at hand for a safe refuge, even though this precaution would add a considerable sum to the cost of transportation. Besides — a most conclusive reason for delay — the diseases which had seized and prostrated so many of the passengers, laid hold on the men, with the result that many had died, and many who had not passed away were sick and weak, and the captain was afraid to put to sea until his men were better and the weather signs were more auspicious.

But the time came at length when the ship which had brought them safely across the sea, which had been their home for so long, within whose narrow walls many earnest councils had been held, plans formed, an immortal state paper adopted, the sick nursed, children born, the eyes of the dead tenderly closed, and the last tributes paid to departed associates, was to lift her anchor, spread her sails, catch a favoring breeze, drop over the eastern horizon, and fade out of view. Should she set her prow to the dear old home-land with only the master and his remnant of a crew aboard? Did Carver and Bradford, both of them worn with sickness and care, and the governor unconsciously close to the border line of life, did Brewster and Winslow, did Standish and Hopkins, think it better to let the vessel go and leave them there, cut off from all chances of retreat, from all resources save those which were found in themselves, to keep up the struggle for a foothold on that bleak shore? If the leaders were still brave and persistent, was there no one in the rank and file of

their followers who had become faint-hearted and ready to quit?

Early and late the faith and pluck, the high resolve and absolute consecration of the Pilgrims were put to many and severe tests. Few of them could have been more trying and severe than standing there on the uplands on that mid-April day, with the graves of their beloved at their feet, with an unbroken forest behind them, with no white neighbors within a sweep of hundreds of miles, and seeing the ship in which they might all of them have embarked sailing away and leaving them to a duty from which there was no escape.

That act set the seal to their purpose to do and die in furtherance of the holy project for which they had crossed the sea.

James Russell Lowell looked on this scene with a poet's eye, and he caught the significance of it, and set it forth as the crowning testimony to the valor and unconquerable determination of the Pilgrims. He says: "Surely, if the Greek could boast his Thermopylæ, where three hundred men fell in resisting the Persians, we may well be proud of our Plymouth Rock, where a handful of men, women, and children, not merely faced, but vanquished winter, famine, the wilderness, and the more invincible *storge* that drew them back to the green island far away. They found no lotus growing upon the surly shore, the taste of which could make them forget their little native Ithaca; nor were they so wanting to themselves in faith as to burn their ships, but could see the fair west wind belly the homeward sail, and then turn unrepining to grapple with the terrible Unknown." Not a Pilgrim went back on the returning *Mayflower*.

XII

MAKING A LIVING

With great difficulty we have preserved our lives ; inasomuch as when I look back upon our condition, and weak means to preserve the same, I rather admire at God's mercy and providence in our preservation, than that no greater things have been effected by us. But though our beginning hath been . . . raw, small, and difficult, . . . yet the same God that hath hitherto led us through the former, I hope will raise means to accomplish the latter. Not that we altogether, or principally propound profit to be the main end of that we have undertaken, but the glory of God, and the honor of our Country.

EDWARD WINSLOW.

The London partners sent out no provisions and very few goods. A scarcity of food, often extreme, continued to a greater or less extent for the first four years. The agricultural arrangements of the Colony were as yet very imperfect, and the chief dependence during all that period was on corn purchased of the Indians. . . . The clams with which the harbor of Plymouth abounded were also an essential resource. At certain seasons fish were plenty; but for some time the Colonists were so unprovided as to have neither nets nor other tackle with which to take them, nor salt to preserve them. — RICHARD HILDRETH.

They worked against tremendous odds there on that barren coast; but they wrung a living from it almost from the first, and year by year patiently learned to succeed at the hard thing they had undertaken.

WOODBOW WILSON.

The first years of the residence of Puritans in America were years of great hardship and affliction; it is an error to suppose that this short season of distress was not promptly followed by abundance and happiness.

GEORGE BANCROFT.

XII

MAKING A LIVING

WHEN the fateful winter was over, and the precious dead were buried, and the *Mayflower* had sailed away to the home-land, the surviving Pilgrims, bating no jot of heart or hope, but still determined to push their enterprise right on to a successful conclusion, found several very serious and pressing problems on their hands. To begin with they had to make a living.

I

Governor Carver and his wife, and a few others, did not die till after the departure of the ship early in April. But at the end of the first year, as has been shown, there remained only fifty-one of the colonists. This group of fifty-one was made up of eleven men who had been married, though seven of them were now widowers, six single men, four wives, ten sons or male relatives, seven daughters or female relatives, five male servants, one female servant, and seven children of whom five were boys and two were girls. In scanning this list it is easy to see that the supply-producing members of the company were not many. On these few devolved the task of supporting the whole body. Day by day, through summer and winter, and year after year, these workers with absolutely no experience in the larger part of the activities in which they were to engage and the life they were to live, with few available resources, and with small succor to reach them from abroad, were to secure food,

clothing, shelter for themselves and all dependent upon them, and whatever else might be necessary to the maintenance of self-respect and propriety in their domestic and social relations. It was an arduous task to face.

To the colonists who had lived through the winter the opening of spring brought improved health, fresh encouragement, and a fair chance to get on their feet.

The cheer They planted corn, and though the yield was
of spring small, yet with the meal which this first crop furnished, and the fish which they caught, and the ducks, and "the great store of wild turkeys," and the deer secured, they "had all things in good plenty." Letters full of satisfaction and hope were sent back to friends in England. The outlook was bright. Houses enough to answer the needs of all for shelter had been built. They were comfortably clothed. The seed brought over in the ship, and from which they expected to raise "wheat and peas" "came not to good;" still they had sufficient food in store or in prospect for the coming months, and they looked forward to the approaching winter without misgiving. Their hearts could not have ceased aching; and there were moments, no doubt, when tides of memory swept over their souls and they were in the deep waters; but they were steadfast and confident. Each succeeding sunrise was a fresh prophecy of brighter mornings to dawn. Things were coming their way.

II

Not yet, however, had these rare spirits been sufficiently disciplined in the school of disappointment and bitter, bewildering sorrow. The skies, so bright in those mellow autumn days, were again to be shrouded in the gloom of night, and charged with fierce electric storms. The day was not yet at hand.

On November 21 — just a year to a day after the *Mayflower* had come to anchor in the harbor of the future Provincetown, the *Fortune* arrived at Plymouth. She came from the Merchant Adventurers, and brought Robert Cush-

man, who was over on business, and thirty-five new settlers. The voyage had been an extraordinarily long one — between four and five months — and all on board were reduced to a sore plight. Instead of bringing anything, except a little clothing, to help the colonists, the coming of this ship meant simply thirty-five more mouths to be fed and thirty-five more heads to be sheltered, and thirty-five more bodies to be covered. In concluding his account of this accession to the colony, Bradford makes the very natural comment: "The plantation was glad of this addition of strength, but could have wished that many of them had been in better condition, and all of them better furnished with provisions." To add to the perplexities of the case, the newcomers had in them very little of the spirit and purpose of the Pilgrims. "For most of them were lusty young men, and many of them wild enough, who little considered whither, or about what they went." Good raw material, it may be; but not just the kind of stuff to measure up to the present situation.

So soon as the *Fortune* had sailed away, account of stock was taken, the fear of famine was looked squarely in the face, and the best preparations possible were made to avert it. "The Governor and his associates having disposed these late comers into several families, as they best could, took an exact account of all their provisions in store, and proportioned the same to the number of persons, and found that it would not hold out above six months at half allowance, and hardly that. And they could not well give less this winter-time till fish came again. So they presently put to half allowance, one as well as another, what began to be hard, but they bore it patiently under hope of supply." With all their care, however, in allotting food to individuals and limiting the amount each was to receive, starvation pressed the colony hard and threatened its utter annihilation. Month by month through the long, trying winter the cords of want were drawn closer and closer about them. May found the handful of meal in the barrel well-nigh spent, and the little oil in the cruse exhausted. It was a sorry con-

dition, and one which must have taxed to the utmost the faith of the Pilgrims. They strained their eager eyes in vain, trying to catch sight of a ship sailing to their relief. Oh, Weston, Weston, was there no pulse of sympathy beating in thy bosom, or was thy heart altogether a heart of stone! How vain their "hope of supply."

III

Help came to them from an unexpected source. An utter stranger, one "Captain So and So," the captain of a vessel which was one of a fishing fleet trying the waters off at the eastward of them, sent them warm Christian salutations and a wholesome warning against possible assaults by a savage foe. Edward Winslow took boat and went back with the messenger who brought the kindly note, and laid the distress of the colony before this "gentill-man" and his associates, and made an appeal for provisions. "By which means he got some good quantity and returned in safety." But this "good quantity" was after all only a small quantity in comparison with their needs. "Yet by God's blessing it upheld them till harvest. It arose but to a quarter of a pound of bread a day to each person; and the governor caused it to be daily given them, otherwise, had it been in their own custody, they would have eaten it up and then starved. But thus, with what else they could get, they made pretty shift till corn was ripe." Another sharp corner was turned. Another milestone was reached on the wearisome journey to assured success.

But there were other sharp corners to be turned, and other wearisome stretches of road to be travelled, before these sorely-smitten but resolute colonists could dismiss anxious forecastings from their minds. They had reached the corn harvest of the second year; but the yield was so slight, and some of the more reckless of their number—mainly the newcomers most likely—had stealthily invaded the fields and made such free use of the unripe ears, that what was gath-

ered gave but small promise of security against pinching hunger in the days near at hand. "Now the welcome time of harvest approached, in which all had their hungry bellies filled. But it arose but to a little in comparison of a full year's supply." Gaunt famine still stalked ahead of them and darkened the way. It looked as if the sad experiences of the past winter were to be repeated in the coming winter — only with less and less of strength and fortitude to endure them.

"Behold now another providence of God: a ship comes into the harbor, one Captain Jones being the chief therein."

This ship had beads and knives to sell. Extortionate prices were charged for the articles, and Unexpected help again only the lowest prices were offered for beaver; but the straitened colonists were glad to make the exchange on almost any terms. The beads and knives they could readily dispose of to the Indians for corn. They bought the trinkets and immediately sold them for the food they so much required; although on their importunity they felt constrained to share this bit of good fortune with Weston's people at Weymouth. In this way they added to their small store enough to carry them over into the next year. Nevertheless the struggle was a sharp one, and their scant supply had to be eked out by every economy possible.

IV

After the first winter, when their sufferings were not so much from want of food as from sickness, although they were in great need of proper food, until they The trying period were securely established and had bread enough and to spare, the period between seed-sowing and ingathering seems to have been the most trying one for the Pilgrims. Supplies were exhausted, and the earth had not yet yielded her increase for the sustenance of man. Game was obtainable at certain times in the year, and wild berries; but the tribes of the waters and the mollusks of the shores were the chief resources open to them in the early summer months. They had but poor equipment for successful catches, but against starvation fishing was

the ready alternative to which they turned. It was fishing, with a hand given also to clam-digging and hunting, to which they had recourse in the present extremity.

Only Bradford, however, can tell the impressive story in suitable fashion. "They having but one boat left and she not over well fitted, they were divided into several companies, six or seven to a gang or company; and so went out with a net they had bought, to take bass and such like fish, by course, every company knowing their turn. No sooner was the boat discharged of what she brought, but the next company took her and went out with her. Neither did they return till they had caught something, though it were five or six days before, for they knew there was nothing at home, and to go home empty would be a great discouragement to the rest. Yea, they strove who should do best. If she stayed long or got little, then all went to seeking shell-fish, which at low water they digged out of the sands. And this was their living in the summer time, till God sent them better, and in winter they were helped with ground nuts and fowl. Also in the summer they got now and then a deer; for one or two of the fittest were appointed to range the woods for that end, and what was got that way was divided amongst them." Those were hard times. Well might people who were suffering this measure of deprivation and hardship be comforted by such fit words as these: "Let it not be grievous unto you that you have been instruments to break the ice for others to come after with less difficulty, the honor shall be yours to the world's end."

V

The embarrassments were increased by the coming to Plymouth from time to time of persons who were in want of everything, but had nothing. They brought
 Embarrass- mouths to be fed, but no food. They added to
 ing acces- the volume of hunger, but they made no contri-
 sions butions to the supplies.

Recall how it was with the thirty-five who were landed from the *Fortune*. On another occasion, when "in a man-

ner their provisions were wholly spent," seven men from one of Weston's fishing craft, "wanting victuals" were thrown on the hospitality of the colonists, and they "gave them as good as any of their own." On still another occasion, though warned to the contrary by Cushman, who at length had come to understand the utter rottenness of the man's character, after Weston had openly broken with the colony, and they all knew how untrustworthy and contemptible he was, they took in "about sixty lusty men" whom he had asked them to receive, and gave them "friendly entertainment." For "the most part of the summer" they housed them, and with the best means and tenderest care the place afforded ministered to their "many sick." When those of this Weston company who were able went away to lay the foundation of their settlement, they left their sick at Plymouth till houses were ready for them. But the sturdy and self-respecting Pilgrims refused to accept any food from them, "though they were in great want." Nor would they take "anything else in recompense for any courtesy done them." They "saw they were an unruly company," and the less they had to do with them the better. These obscure and feeble planters were after all a canny folk, and they had lots of long-distance wisdom.

But shrewd as they were, they were always kind. They were kind even to Weston long after his dishonest and scheming nature had been revealed to them. He himself came to them in great distress, and they helped him. They took him into their bosom and warmed him. In return he gave them a viper's sting. "Let favor be showed to the wicked, yet will he not learn righteousness: in the land of uprightness, will he deal wrongfully."

VI

The return of the third spring found the colony prepared to operate on a new system. Hitherto the organization of their industry had been on a communistic basis. It was each for all and all for each by constraint. The plan was tried in some measure by the early disciples. It was tried

very thoroughly by the Pilgrims. If there were ever sets of men and women in the world who might have been expected to work the scheme successfully, it was these — these early disciples and these later disciples who had in them so much of the spirit of the Master, and whose sense of brotherhood was so vital and controlling, and whose motives for coming out ahead were so imperative. But even under these conditions the policy failed. It failed because it could not help failing. It failed because it cuts across the grain of human nature and is at war with human instincts.

"So, . . . on the approach of seeding-time, . . . they began to think how they might raise as much corn as they could, and obtain a better crop than they had done before." "After much debate," it was decided that, while "in all other things" they were "to go on in the general way as before," the growing of corn was to be turned over to individuals. With this end in view parcels of land were assigned to each family, according to the number of each; and all were allowed and encouraged to plant and raise what they could. The new plan succeeded. It appealed to self-respect. It stirred ambition and provoked industry. It allayed discontent and made it an object to do the best one might. It stimulated a healthy rivalry in toil. The more prudent and thrifty could not help feeling a fresh satisfaction and pride in their work. It supplied an adequate motive to the strong to put forth their strength and show what they could do. "Much more corn was planted than otherwise would have been. . . . The women now went willingly into the field, and took their little ones with them to set corn."

But though a larger acreage than ever before had been devoted to the cultivation of corn, and the chances were apparently good for an abundant harvest, the crop was not yet matured. Through the latter weeks of spring and the long summer the pressure of extreme want was upon them; and their living was literally just from hand to mouth. "By that their corn was planted, all their victuals were spent,

Abandon-
ing plant-
ing in
common

Supplies
very low

and they were only to rest on God's providence; at night not many times knowing where to have a bit of anything the next day." When the *Anne* and the *Little James*, about midway between sowing and reaping, brought an addition of sixty to Plymouth, "the best dish" which the colonists could set before them "was a lobster, or a piece of fish, without bread or anything else but a cup of fair spring water." It is small surprise that these newcomers, "when they saw the low and poor condition" of the colonists, "were much daunted and dismayed;" and "wished," some of them, that they were back "in England again," while "others fell aweping, fancying their own misery," in the misery they saw before them. One cannot help feeling the pertinency and the pathos of the comparison Governor Bradford instituted between the condition of his own people at this time and that of the Chosen People at one of those times when famine was upon them. He recalled the distress which Jacob experienced, and the directions the old patriarch gave his sons to go and buy food that they might live and not die. But he also recalled the fact that they had "great herds, and store of cattle of sundry kinds, which, beside flesh, must needs produce other food, as milk, butter, and cheese; and yet it was counted a sore affliction." Whereas his own people "not only wanted the staff of bread, but all these things, and had no Egypt to go to." Think what it must have meant through all those years to have been without a drop of milk — save, perhaps, a little goat's milk — or an ounce of fresh butter!

VII

This fair promise of abundant harvest in the autumn came near being sharply broken. The famine which pinched was accompanied by a drought which consumed.

An alarm- Beginning near the end of May there was a
ing period of six weeks or more in which there was
drought no rain. The heavens over them were brass and
the earth was dissolving into choking dust.

Morning by morning the sun rose only to beat down on them with fierce heat; and evening by evening the sun set with no

sign of an approaching cloud in the sky. Bradford says that "some of the dryer ground was parched like withered hay." It was inevitable that the corn should feel the effects of the scorching rays and this lack of moisture. Winslow adds: "Both blade and stock" of their corn were "hanging the head and changing the color in such manner" that the poor Pilgrims judged them to be "utterly dead." Their "beans also rose not up, according to their wonted manner; but stood at stay — many being parched away, as though they had been parched before the fire." It looked as if their new plan, and "their great pains and industry," and the "hopes" which they cherished of "a large crop," were all to come to naught. The author last quoted felt constrained to confess that "the most courageous were now discouraged."

In their dire extremity these good men fell on their knees. The authorities "set apart a solemn day of humiliation" on which the people were "to seek the Lord by humble and fervent prayer." For eight or nine hours they were together in their accustomed place of worship. What confessions of unworthiness, what pleadings of the promises, what agonizing cries for help, during these hours must have ascended to the ear of the Almighty from these earnest souls! The answers were "gracious and speedy." "All the morning, and greatest part of the day, it was clear weather and very hot, and not a cloud or any sign of rain to be seen, yet toward evening it began to overcast, and shortly after to rain, with such sweet and gentle showers, as gave them cause of rejoicing and blessing God." The result of this in reviving "the decayed corn and other fruits — was wonderful to see." The early hopes of a large crop were realized.

VIII

Besides, the wisdom of their new scheme was abundantly justified. In this connection Bradford has a passage of special significance; for it not only states for us the outcome of this experiment, but it also marks a turning point

in the struggles of the Pilgrims. They were never again to be in sore straits for something to eat. "By this time harvest was come, and instead of famine, now God gave them plenty, and the face of things was changed, to the rejoicing of the hearts of many, for which they blessed God. And the effect of their particular" — individual, and not all in common — "planting was well seen; for all had, one way and another, pretty well to bring the year about; and some of the abler sort and more industrious had to spare, and sell to others, so as any general want or famine hath not been amongst them since to this day." Well might these devout and grateful colonists, so signally relieved and helped, recognize the new turn their affairs had taken by following up the day of fasting and humiliation, in which they had uttered their confessions and made known their wants to the heavenly Father, with a day of thanksgiving in which to express their acknowledgments of the divine goodness, their confidence in the infinite mercy that overruled their lives, and the quiet but boundless joy they felt in the deliverance which had come to them from God. The stage of luxury had not been reached; nor had they yet an adequate supply of what would be deemed the simple requirements of a comfortable life; but these godly men and women were no longer to do their work on empty stomachs.

IX

After this, from time to time, resources for better living began to increase. But while the Pilgrims from this date on had enough to satisfy hunger and keep their bodies in good physical condition, their living was very simple. This of necessity. Tea and coffee had not come into use in those early days of the Pilgrims. It was not until 1652 that the first coffee-house was opened in London. It was a full half century later than this when the first coffee plant was carried to the West Indies. About the same time that coffee was introduced tea began to make its appearance in the circles of rich

and fashionable people; but the price of it in those early days of Charles II — sixty shillings a pound — put it out of the reach of all except the opulent few. Potatoes were not utilized for the table until more than a hundred and fifty years after the landing of the Pilgrims. Clear sparkling water, and beer when obtainable, were the table beverages. Cider and wine came later. Beef, veal, and mutton were for a long while strangers to the frugal boards of the colonists. Swine have incidental mention in the records at an early date; for they were disturbers of the peace between neighbors as well as contributors to lean larders. Cattle were a later importation.

X

In 1624, the *Charity* brought over the returning Winslow, and "a bull and three heifers" which he had purchased for the colony. "Two were black, and the third was white-backed." That small herd of four was "the first beginning of any cattle in the land," and it became the cattle on a thousand hills. To the poor wives and mothers whose resources for appetizing meals had been so slender the sight of these docile and useful creatures must have brought forth cheer and a new courage. These are the "some cattle" which Captain John Smith referred to in a letter written in England later in the same year of 1624, in which he said that Plymouth contained "about a hundred and eighty people, who had thirty-two dwelling houses, some cattle and goats, with much swine and poultry." Early in the following year, 1625, the *Jacob* brought over five young cattle — four of them on consignment to Winslow and Allerton, and one a gift from Shirley to the poor.

In the division of the cattle, to which reference is to be made in the next paragraph, the *Anne* is credited with having brought over some of the stock which the colony then owned. Among these animals were "the great black cow, . . . the great white-back cow," and "the lesser of the black cows."

The claim is made by Dr. Ames that the cattle referred to as having been brought by the *Anne* must have been brought over in 1623. In that case those brought in the *Charity* could not have been the first to be received by the colony. It is very certain that there were neither kine, horses, nor sheep in the *Mayflower*. So all the cattle the colony owned came later. Now the *Anne* could not have brought cattle on the trip in 1623; for Bradford says explicitly that those brought in the *Charity* a year afterwards were "the first beginning of any cattle of that kind in the land." Besides, had the *Anne* had cattle on board when she reached Plymouth, and found the colony in almost a starving condition, it would have filled all their hearts with inexpressible joy. Instead, there was dismay because no help in the way of food had been brought to them, and the demands upon them had been greatly increased. In making the entries relating to the division of cattle in 1627, a mistake had been made, and the cattle had been attributed to the wrong ship. That explains it; for in a matter of this importance Bradford could not have been misinformed.

On January 1, 1627, the number of cattle had risen to fifteen. Twelve of these were cows. At that time there were one hundred and fifty-six persons in the settlement, who, because they were "purchasers," a body to be explained later, or in virtue of their relations to the "purchasers," were entitled to share in the common property of the colony. These were arranged in groups, according to their individual preferences, of thirteen each. To each of these twelve groups of thirteen one cow was assigned by lot. But this arrangement was to hold good for only ten years. The cattle still belonged to the colony as a whole. At the end of ten years each cow, if living, with one-half of the increase, if any, was to be given back to the Company. The bulls were evidently turned over to the groups best able to take care of them. To all except — for some reason not stated — the group of which John Howland was the head, a pair of she-goats was added to the cow. The swine were distributed in the same systematic way. As to the cows a dozen of them distributed among a hundred

and seventy-five or eighty people — for there were thirty or forty then in the colony who had no right to participate in the allotment of the common possessions, but who had mouths to be fed, would not seem to promise an oversupply of dairy products.

But even one was better than nothing, for good milkers were an expensive luxury. At about the time this division

was made it is estimated that a good cow was
 Price of worth the equivalent of two hundred dollars of
 cows our money. Calves would be carefully raised,
 and cows would not be fattened for slaughter

so long as they gave reasonable promise of yielding a good quantity of milk. Among the assets of Standish when he died were two pairs of oxen and ten cows and calves. He knew not only how to intimidate Indians, but how to make farming profitable. For the thrifty captain, inside of a year after the "red cow" had been assigned to him and his group, bought out the shares of his associates in the ten-year ownership and had her all to himself. It is through this transaction that we get our information concerning the value of a cow at that time and place.

Cows, if not thought to be "sacred," were considered fit objects to devote to sacred uses. In 1633, Dr. Fuller declared in his will: "I give to the Church of God at Plymouth the first cow-calf that my brown cow shall have." Slices of ripe roast beef, now such a necessity to every robust Englishman, and kidney-cuts of veal were not for these struggling colonists. Day, the Harvard printer, to whom the world is indebted for the "Bay Psalm-book," thought it a high commendation of the young man who was to marry his daughter that he had "cattle all ready" for his use.

Horses were owned in Salem as early as 1629. In 1635 the *James* brought a consignment of horses to Boston. In

the same year Dutch ships brought horses from
 Horses Holland to the Boston market. As to the time
 when horses were introduced into Plymouth
 there is uncertainty. Thatcher says that "the first
 notice of horses on record is 1644, when a mare, belonging
 to the estate of Stephen Hopkins, was appraised at six

pounds sterling." This implies, of course, that horses were there before that date. In speaking of the brisk trade which sprang up between the Bay and Plymouth after the great sickness in Boston in 1631, Goodwin says: "Everything that Plymouth had to sell was readily taken, especially in exchange for horses and neat cattle." This writer doubtless had good authority for what his statement suggests. Governor Bradford is said to have owned a "mare," which was used by the escort who attended Governor Winthrop and his party for some distance as they returned from their visit to Plymouth in 1632. Howland had a horse in 1656. This same year, when he died, Standish owned five "horses and colts." One catches these glimpses of horses, as well as oxen, in the colony with special satisfaction; for it means the lightening of so many burdens which must have been heavy in the earlier years, and a marked increase in the facilities for making a living.

The first hint of sheep in the colony is that given in the transaction in which Standish acquired full possession of the use of the cow assigned to him and his group. "Two ewe lambs" were given by Standish in exchange for one share he bought.

Lambs like calves were considered appropriate gifts to the churches. This was William Wright's token of regard for the little body of disciples in the wilderness — "a ewe lamb." For some reason the flocks did not multiply so fast as the herds. As late as 1633 the colony found it necessary to forbid the exportation of sheep. Wolves were plenty and troublesome, and it may have been difficult to protect the sheep against their ravages.

Goats were more hardy and an earlier importation than sheep. It was easy, too, to increase the stock of goats.

Recall John Smith's statement, "some cattle and goats." On the breaking up, in 1626, of "a plantation which was at Monhegan" — off the coast of Maine — "and belonged to some merchants at Plymouth," in England, a flock of goats was secured for the colony.

While there was this shortage, however, in beef and mutton and dairy products, the Pilgrims, after the first

sharp pinch was over, had fish in plenty, and lobsters and clams, and wild game, deer and turkeys. They also had field strawberries in abundance, and plums and huckleberries in their season. Orchards were planted early. Inside of twenty years Duxbury had a large number of thrifty apple-trees.

Wheat yielded a good crop for more than forty years after the landing on Plymouth Rock; but at length a blight fell upon it, and the use of this important cereal had to be abandoned for a while.

Indian corn, rye, and beans became the staples of living. Baked beans were domesticated at Plymouth before they were in Boston. Pork was in common use.

Staples of living With fish, fresh and salted and smoked, with venison and fowl, with beans, green and dried, with clams from the sands, with vegetables like squash and turnip and onion from field and garden, with milk and butter and cheese from their own increasing herds, and with fruits in considerable variety in their season, and with everything in the way of supplies on the up-grade, the Pilgrims were in no danger of starving. They did not starve.

XI

On the contrary, it is remarkable how healthy they were, and to what a good old age those who survived the severe ordeal of the first years actually lived. Bradford was sixty-seven when he went hence. Standish was seventy-two. Brewster was seventy-eight. Alice Southworth Bradford was nearly eighty. Francis Cook was rising eighty. After sixty years of the kind of life they had to live in the colony, John Alden, Priscilla Mullins Alden, Mrs. Susana White Winslow, Mrs. Elizabeth Tilley Howland, George Soule, Giles Hopkins, John Cook, Resolved White, Henry Sampson, Samuel Fuller, Samuel Eaton, and Mrs. Mary Allerton Cushman, were still living. Cook and White lingered for another decade and more. Mary Allerton Cushman, the

Brad. 67
Standish 72
Brewster 78
Alice Southworth Brad. 80
Francis Cook "rising" 80
See note in Plymouth

Winslow
Cushman

3, 4 12

17

last of the sacred fellowship to go, did not pass to her reward until 1699.

The burial of this mother in Israel must have been a solemn and memorable occasion. When her venerable husband, Thomas Cushman, the successor of Brewster in the eldership, in 1691 went hence to the Great Beyond, a fast day was observed by the Plymouth church. The widow was held in tender regard and remembered in her needs. When her time came to join her husband in the unseen world, it is easy to imagine the moisture in the eyes and the quiver on the lips of the company who gathered about her open grave. It is fit that a granite obelisk has been erected on Burial Hill to mark the spot where all that is mortal of this immortal pair now rests.

XIII

PAYING THEIR DEBTS

The Company sold to the Colony all their shares, stocks, merchandise, lands and chattels, in consideration of Eighteen Hundred Pounds, to be paid at the Royal Exchange in London, every Michaelmas, in nine annual and equal payments, the first of which was to be made in 1628. The agreement was approved. The settlers were distrustful of their ability to provide for the annual payments, and their own wants. Yet despair formed no part of their character, they always lived in hope and trusted to God.

FRANCIS BAYLIES.

Finally, in March, 1646, when it had stood over a quarter of a Century, the Pilgrim Republic for the first time enjoyed the luxury of owing no man anything. Its debts had been inflated, its funds embezzled, its trade defrauded, and its confidence betrayed: but it had borne every burden without shrinking, and had preferred to endure fraud and robbery rather than risk any sacrifice of honor. Its leaders took care that every chance of wrong should fall on themselves rather than on the public creditors who had treated them unjustly. Repudiation is not a plant of Old Colony growth.

JOHN A. GOODWIN.

XIII

PAYING THEIR DEBTS

IN addition to winning a living from soil and sea, and from the timber and game of the forests, the Pilgrims were to pay their debts, and at the earliest practicable moment work free from the perplexing entanglements and heavy burdens in which they were involved by the unequal agreement with the Merchant Adventurers.

Debt is a serious handicap to anybody. Especially is this so when one has nothing in the way of assets to meet his indebtedness. The merchant who borrows money to buy goods has on his shelves the equivalent of what he owes; but the man who owes and has nothing with which to pay, even under the most propitious circumstances, has a heavy and discouraging load to carry. These colonists had faith and pluck, willing hands and resolute purpose, and the habits of industry, economy, and self-denial, but they could hardly have been in a less favorable condition for making money than they were during the first years of their settlement at Plymouth. Straitened in all sorts of material resources, without experience of the country and the ways of getting on in it, sick, hungry, perplexed, and with not a few of their wise and strong ones gone hence, one cannot help feeling that they did well to keep the breath of life in their bodies and their organization intact. It was inevitable that paying debts would prove to be a long and tedious task.

I

Technically, at the outset, these obligations of the colonists to the Adventurers were not debts; but in morals

they were; and before the business was definitely concluded they became so by mutual agreement in form. The Pilgrims might well have put their own losses and sufferings over against the unprofitable outlays made by the Adventurers; but, as we shall see, they refused to do this, and voluntarily bound themselves to pay over a stipulated and, to them, large sum to satisfy the claims of those who had invested their money in the enterprise.

Recall the fact that the colonists and the Merchant Adventurers constituted a joint-stock company. Every planter of sixteen years of age and upwards was rated at one share. A planter putting in ten pounds of money or provisions was entitled to an additional share. A planter carrying wife and children, or servants, received a single share for each person of sixteen or upwards; or for children or servants between the ages of ten and sixteen a share for two. The Adventurers, of course, obtained shares only by investing their money in the enterprise. It was this money put in by the Adventurers, and which it was expected would yield gratifying returns at the end of seven years when the joint property was to be divided and the profits distributed, that created the financial obligations in which the colonists were involved.

II

In no one of the authorities consulted are we told just how many shares of the stock the Adventurers took. Nor is it clear how much the returns actually made during the period in which the original contract was in operation netted them. While some of the consignments were intercepted, and did not help the Adventurers at all, though they told against the resources of the planters just the same, there were other remittances made which did reach them; but how much these successful remittances summed up is not in evidence in any of the accessible records. We know, however, that the

**Exact
amount of
indebted-
ness diffi-
cult to
ascertain**

amount which Allerton agreed to pay the Adventurers for their entire interest in the colony, when as agent of the planters in 1627 he bought them out, was eighteen hundred pounds. This was nearly at the end of the seven years for which the partnership was to run, and was in addition to all that had been advanced before.

Still the eighteen hundred pounds was not the full measure of the burden which the planters had to assume. During those years of struggle they had been obliged from time to time to borrow quite large sums at extortionate rates. Standish, for instance, a year or so before this final agreement with the Adventurers, made a loan of a hundred and fifty pounds at fifty per cent interest. At a later date, Allerton secured two hundred pounds at thirty per cent. The notes of the Pilgrims were out for other sums. Money was necessary, even though it had to be obtained on these appallingly high terms, to meet expenses and carry on trade. It is impossible to say just what was the total indebtedness of the colonists at the end of their seven years of toil and hardship; but it was at least six hundred pounds in addition to the eighteen hundred pounds which were to be paid the Merchant Adventurers. This was certainly a formidable challenge to courage as well as to industry and financial skill.

But let us go back and look at this matter of debt-paying somewhat more in detail.

III

The first note of irritation over delay in making returns came, as might have been anticipated, from Weston and those of his ilk among the Adventurers. The *First complaints at delay in remittances* complaint, voiced in letters, was that the *Mayflower*, when she made her home voyage after the winter at Plymouth, bore no products for the market. The letters were intrusted to Cushman, who had come over on the *Fortune* to secure the signatures of the colonists to the altered articles of agreement which they had stoutly refused to sign

at Southampton. This vessel, it will be remembered, arrived at Plymouth in the late autumn after the first summer. But those in possession of the facts of the story, as these facts have now been given, and who also know how negligent and niggardly these London correspondents were in meeting their share of the common obligations, and sending over suitable goods with which to do business, will readily understand how unreasonable it was to expect these crippled and struggling pioneers to do more than they did. It was not alone unreasonable; it was heartless. When these letters were written, the Adventurers, one and all of them, knew what an awful affliction had fallen upon the colonists, and through what sorest straits they had been called to pass. It would be unfair to say that Shylock, insisting on his pound of flesh, was more humane than they; but it is not unfair to say that the demands of some of these men suggest Shylock. The colonists were weak and smitten. They had neither time nor strength nor capital to make gains. What they were entitled to was not blame, harsh and cruel, but tenderest sympathy and encouragement. They should have been promptly and generously helped.

IV

However, before the close of their first twelvemonth in the new country, the Pilgrims managed to get together merchandise for the home market to the value of something like five hundred pounds. This consisted of "good clapboard," or staves for making beer barrels and kegs, "and two hogsheads of beaver and otter skins." A hogshead held a little less than two hundred beaver skins. An average skin weighed about a pound and a half. Each pound of beaver was worth a pound sterling in the market. How many of the pelts in these two hogsheads were beaver we are not informed; but, as just stated, the value of the whole cargo was near to five hundred pounds. In the circumstances this was extraordinary. These people were not prepared for trade with the Indians;

but with the few trifling articles which they had brought with them, they were enabled to purchase this amount of goods to be sent back. The *Fortune*, on her return voyage, took these commodities aboard; and it looked as if a fair start had been made towards satisfying the expectations of the London partners and helping the colonists to a better business standing in England. Alas for all concerned! These bright hopes were destined to a bitter dash-ing. In those days ships on the high seas were subject to other perils than storms and rocks and shoals. The strong preyed upon the weak; and almost anything was made a pretext for justifying rapacity and greed. When but a short distance out from the English harbor, the *Fortune* was captured by a French war-ship and her cargo was confiscated by the French authorities. Thus ended the first attempt to ease financial burdens and hush unreasonable complaints.

V

In the autumn of 1623, the *Anne*, which brought an increase to the colony of about sixty persons, besides thirty or forty others who had come on their own
A second individual account, seems to have taken back
remittance a consignment of the usual "clapboard," and likewise "all the beaver and other furs they had:" but there is only incidental mention made of the value of this cargo; nor are we told of the uses to which the money obtained from it was put. Most likely it did not do much more than meet expenses, or possibly aid in wiping out some side indebtedness.

VI

It was some time before the colonists were in condition to make further returns of value. But in 1625 a large ship, with a cargo of considerable worth, left Plymouth for London. Through fear of French privateers, for there was then "a bruit of war" between France and England,

her captain took her into an English port; and through the delay thus occasioned the chance to sell to advantage what she had brought over was lost. Along with this larger vessel, and in her tow in fact, the *Little James* — a boat which seems to have been attended with ill luck from the first — set sail with a freight of fish and fur. She was taken by the Turks. In this way another sturdy effort to better the financial situation came to naught.

VII

The simple fact is it was a struggle for existence. At the end of six or seven years no real headway had been made in increasing the commercial value of the property held by the colonists and Merchant Adventurers in common, or in furnishing satisfactory returns to the London stockholders for their investment in the undertaking. It became more and more evident that for the good of all who were interested or in any way involved in the movement, the affairs of the Company must be put on another basis.

Winslow returned to England on the *Anne*. He did not go for the specific purpose of reorganizing the Company, but “to inform of all things, and procure such things as were thought needful for their present condition.” In their repeated conferences many things passed, no doubt, between Winslow, who was a natural-born diplomatist, and the Merchants, fitted to pave the way for a readjustment when the right time should come. That this subject was in the minds of the Adventurers, and was freely and even bitterly discussed at times, is evident from letters sent over to the colonists at this particular period. Still the main object of Winslow’s visit was to give information, hush discontent and faction if possible, impart courage and secure supplies. We know how well he succeeded in the latter of these aims.

Two years subsequent to the date of Winslow's visit to England, Standish was sent over with instructions to mend matters, if he could, by some sort of reconstruction of the articles of agreement. He was to plead with the Company for easier terms in the sale of goods to them, and for goods more suitable to the kind of trade they had to carry on with the Indians. Beyond this he was to plead with the Council for New England for "favor and help." He was to secure their aid in bringing such of the Adventurers as had forsaken and deserted them back to a saner mind, and not to hold the colonists to the terms of the agreement while they themselves disregarded them. In other words, he was to urge "that they might either stand to their former covenants, or else come to some fair end by division or composition." Owing to the political confusion which marked that great revolutionary hour, and the panic and devastation caused by the plague then prevailing, and the serious financial losses which many of the friends of the colony had suffered, he could do little more than borrow, as we have seen, a small sum of money at an exorbitant rate of interest. But he had set the idea of reorganization to fermenting in the minds of the parties concerned. In doing this he "prepared a good way for the composition that was afterwards made." It is evident that the brave captain was something more than a mere fighter.

The next year Allerton was commissioned by the colonists to cross the ocean and follow up the promising initiative made by Standish in readjusting the articles of agreement under which they and the Adventurers were conducting their affairs. His directions were "to make a composition with the Adventurers upon as good terms as he could." Nothing, however, was to be settled finally until the whole matter had been referred to the people at Plymouth. They had been caught once, so they were prompt to remember, by an unwarranted assumption of authority on the part of an agent, and once was enough. Having wintered in England, "at the usual season of the coming of ships Mr. Allerton returned." He

Standish
goes over

Allerton
sent to
push
negotia-
tions

was fortunate, as has been noted, in being able to borrow money at a less rate of interest than some of the previous agents of the colony had been able to do, and he brought with him "some useful goods."

But his more important achievement was in the line of reorganization. "By the help of sundry of their faithful friends," and "with much ado and no small trouble, he had made a composition with the Adventurers." A copy of this agreement, "drawn by the best counsel of the law they could get, to make it firm," he had brought with him. Forty-two of the Adventurers affixed their names to this document in their own behalf, and Allerton subscribed for the colonists. If the Plymouth people assented to the terms thus mutually agreed upon and stated in the paper, the bargain was to become binding, and the whole enterprise was to stand on another and more helpful basis.

VIII

The sum and substance of the agreement was that the merchants were to abandon all claims and relinquish all right and title to the property of the colony on the payment to them by the colonists of eighteen hundred pounds. The payments were to be made in annual instalments, on a stipulated day, of two hundred pounds. Bradford shall tell the rest of the story: "This agreement was very well liked of, and approved by all the plantation, and consented unto; though they knew not well how to raise the payment, and discharge their other engagements, and supply the yearly wants of the plantation, seeing they were forced for their necessities to take up money or goods at so high interest. Yet they undertook it, and seven or eight of the chief of the place became jointly bound for the payment of this eighteen hundred pounds in behalf of the rest, at the several days. In which they ran a great adventure, as their present state stood, having many other heavy burdens already upon them, and all things in an uncertain condition among them. So the next return it was absolutely

confirmed on both sides, and the bargain fairly engrossed in parchment and in many things put into better form, by the advice of the learnedest counsel they could get, . . . and was concluded under their hands and seals."

IX

This put a better face on affairs. It also imposed very formidable obligations. In the passage just quoted Bradford speaks of "other engagements," and "many other heavy burdens." These "other engagements" and "heavy burdens" were in part debts, such as have been indicated already, which had been incurred from time to time for money borrowed with which to obtain supplies or trading goods. These sums amounted to a round six hundred pounds. The combined obligations bulked large, and surely would have staggered the colonists had they not been of the dauntless sort. But they bent their necks to the yoke, and the load moved. Seven or eight of their number, so Bradford tells us in the paragraph just quoted, became responsible for the payments stipulated in the bargain. Here are the names of the eight who became responsible for the whole colony: Bradford, Winslow, Brewster, Allerton, Standish, Howland, Alden, Prentice. It was a meritorious service which they rendered. For an act involving so much public spirit and such downright courage as was exhibited by them in assuming responsibility for the payment of so large a sum, in so short a time, with such slender resources, the men who bore these names deserve in every account of the transaction the honor of special mention.

It will be noticed that all but one of those named fall into the list of those "which came first over in the *Mayflower*." They were of the original Pilgrim Company. Thomas Prentice came in the *Fortune*, but he had the qualities which speedily advanced him to the rank of the leaders. In the list, however, which Prince gives and which counts up, not seven or eight, but nine, the names of Fuller and

Jenny are substituted for Prence. Jenny came over in the *Anne* or *Little James*, and was a "godly, though otherwise, a plain man; yet singular for publickness of spirit, setting himself to seek and promote the common good of the plantation." But Fuller was a *Mayflower* man and, like his fellows in the ship, was pluck to the last.

The changed relation of the colony to the Financial Adventurers called for a readjustment of and other things in the colony itself. The men who readjust- had become indorsers for the colony were ments in justly entitled to all the security which could the colony be given them. The colony was under moral obligation the most binding to put itself in the best shape possible to furnish the security. To effect a satisfactory reorganization three steps were taken.

X

The first was a step in the interest of consolidation and unity. It will be remembered that the *Anne*, in 1623, brought to Plymouth, not only an accession of sixty members to the colony proper, but Consolidation and thirty or forty persons, who wished to live unity in the midst of the colony, but not to be identified with it further than conforming to the general regulations. They "did not belong to the general body, but came on their particular" — that is, on their individual and independent account — "and were to have lands assigned them, and be for themselves, yet to be subject to the general government, which caused some difference and disturbance amongst them." It was not the colonists, but the Adventurers, who had brought this about. Besides these, who were of them and yet not of them, the colonists "from the first" had "some untoward persons mixed amongst them," and later still others who had no fellowship with their spirit and purpose had been inconsiderately thrust upon them. Some of the worst of these were sent back; others remained. The grave question was what to do with these insiders who were yet outsiders. At this stage of the business harmony was

of all consequence. So the governor and his trusted advisers, after general conference and due deliberation, wisely concluded to take into the colony all these outsiders who were either heads of families, or single young men who had ability and character and gave promise of being helpful to the struggling commonwealth. Thus at a single stroke unity was secured, and the prospect of the hearty co-working of all toward the end of freedom from debt which was so much a burden on every heart.

The second step consisted in turning over to these men who had become personally responsible for the payment of the indebtedness of the colony, a monopoly of the trade of the colony. In this way these bondsmen were enabled to shape the financial policy of the little community, keep their hands on the sources of income, and see to it that the receipts were more than the expenditures. The common property and the trading equipment of the colony were committed to their direction; and they were to have the say in business and in the ordering of all money affairs so far as they concerned the common interests. All the traffic of the plantation, save what little might be carried on in a small way between individuals, was to be in their hands. They were to import a certain amount of goods, such as shoes and stockings, and to have the exclusive privilege of bartering with the Indians and with the various settlements up and down the coast. As the indorsers for the colony were to monopolize trade to this extent, so the colonists were to buy of them at a stipulated price — a stipulated price both for what was sold and for what was taken in payment. This arrangement was to continue for six years, then business was to revert to the colony. Doubtless this seemed hard to some, but it was only by such drastic measures of direction and thrift and economy that the colony could hope to better its condition. Hence there was general acquiescence in the scheme.

The third step in reorganization had to do with a further division and allotment of land. Each shareholder had already a single acre. In addition to this, twenty acres were allowed to each shareholder. Meadows were still held

in common. But from this time on each man had enough land which he could call his own to make a snug little farm.

Division and allotment of land A new motive force was set in operation. The stock of cattle, and of goats and swine, was also divided and apportioned to families and groups of families. This was a decided inroad upon the scheme with which the colony had begun its career. It was also a vast advance in the individualizing of duties and possessions upon what had been done four years before, when the members of the colony were allowed and encouraged to plant corn on their own account.

Thus at length the colonists had things in their own hands, and they were moving along on the right track. One begins to scent assured victory in the air.

XI

Taught to use wampum for currency At this juncture a piece of rare good fortune fell to the lot of the colonists. Early in the spring of 1627, Isaac de Rassières, secretary of the governing body of the Dutch settlement at Manhattan, wrote a letter to Governor Bradford in which overtures of friendship were tendered to the Pilgrim colony, and likewise offers to enter into trade with them. At that time the immigrants, who had come from Holland and were settled on Manhattan Island and along the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk, numbered not far from three hundred. These people claimed the territory on which the Pilgrims had built their homes and started their state; nor were they quite willing to give up their claim. Still, they were not disposed to make trouble for their fellow strugglers on the shores of this new wilderness-world, but rather to encourage and help them. The Plymouth colonists were prompt to reciprocate these expressions of kindly feeling. It would have been sad had it been otherwise. The experiences of those years at Leyden — on the one side of hospitality and protection extended, and on the other of hospitality and protection received — were fitted to be a special bond of

union between the Dutch and the English the world over. The result of the correspondence was that in the autumn of this same year, 1627, the Dutch secretary visited Plymouth. From him the colonists learned the use of wampum.

Wampum was a currency made from shells — for the most part the shells of the round clam. It was new at that time to both the Pilgrims and the natives of those parts, and it was a couple of years before the Indians would consent to have much to do with it.

It must not be thought that these wampum beads were mere gewgaws, of no more value than so many pebbles picked up on the shore. This would not be true. They had no intrinsic value like gold and silver and copper and iron, but each bead on the string represented a certain amount of labor, and this labor gave it worth. The process of making this money is thus described by Goodwin: "The shell was broken into small pieces, which, clipped to a somewhat regular form, were then drilled, ground to a rounded shape and finely polished." "Some of the whites," so he added, "tried to produce it by improved processes; but they soon found that the manufacture of such as the Indians would receive cost more than its current value." This might be true of the English at Plymouth, but according to Griffis, it was not true of the Dutch in their settlement. He says: "With their superior tools, drills, hammers, knives, and lathes, the men from the land of banks and of the diamond polishing industry were able quickly to get and to keep the manufacture almost entirely in their own hands. . . . The wampum made by the Dutch, or by squaws under Dutch oversight, was not only far better, but much more beautiful, than that from the red men's fingers." Three of the purple beads, which were twice the value of the white ones, were equivalent to a penny. The Pilgrims bought fifty pounds worth of these beads from de Rassières. Thus were the colonists started in the use of a medium of exchange which in course of time, though, as has just been intimated, the natives with whom the colonists did business did not take to it at once, became of great advantage to them in their future trafficking.

With their new currency, with their fresh reorganiza-

tion, with their definite knowledge of just what they had to do, and with the fund of valuable experience which they had accumulated in their seven years of residence in the wilderness, they set themselves resolutely to the task before them.

XII

Under the obligations now assumed it became necessary for the Pilgrims to enlarge the scope of their business operations. If they were to pay out more money year by year they must make more money.

One of the moves in this direction was the putting up of a trading-house at Manomet. This place is on a river, called then by the same name, though it is now known as Monumet River, twenty miles from Plymouth, and on the south side of Cape Cod. By establishing a trading-post at this point they had access to Buzzard's Bay, and through this channel access to all the bays and rivers along the coast and along the shores of Long Island, without exposure to the dangers and delays of a trip around the cape. In addition to the trading-house, and as a necessary part of the outfit for doing business, they built a pinnace — a boat, that is, which was navigated both by sail and oar, and which was large enough to hold a good store of freight. The distance from the head of Buzzard's Bay to the waters of the cape is less than a half-dozen miles. By using small craft and following along the Scusset River, even this short distance could be considerably reduced. In getting goods, therefore, back and forth between Plymouth and Long Island Sound, what little land transportation was necessary became a matter of small account. The trading-house was protected by a palisade. Two men were put in charge of the property. When not off on trading expeditions, these men gave attention to agriculture and the care of domestic animals. The venture proved to be a profitable one, and must have met the reasonable expectations of the colonists.

Another point at which trade was pushed with fresh energy and greatly enlarged, was on the Kennebec River.

Trade on the Kennebec A trading-house was erected at what is now Augusta, the capital of Maine. A stock of articles suited to Indian tastes was laid in, and soon a profitable trade was established with the natives. "Coats, shirts, rugs, blankets, corn, biscuits, pease, prunes, knives, hatchets, and wampum" were exchanged for furs. However, it took two years of persuasion to induce these down-east Indians to adopt "wampum" as a current coin. This trade, established earlier and carried on in a somewhat desultory way, had required a boat of larger size than any which they possessed. So, as Goodwin tells the story, the Pilgrims "persuaded a house-carpenter to saw a shallop in halves and insert some six feet of waist. Thus they had a decked vessel, 'convenient and whole,' which did good service for seven years; and with this barque they built up a fine trade on the Kennebec."

Not long after the colonists had been operating on the new basis, and trade on the Kennebec had assumed larger and more promising proportions, another piece of rare good fortune befell them. This was a patent, running to William Bradford, and through him to his heirs, associates, and assigns, sent over by the Council for New England, and signed by the president of the council, the powerful Earl of Warrick. This patent for the first time defined the boundaries of the Plymouth Colony. But the feature of the instrument which gave it a special bearing on the business of debt-paying was the grant it contained of a well-defined tract on the Kennebec.

The Bradford patent As early as the autumn of 1625, "Mr. Winslow and some of the old standards" had pushed up the Kennebec River with a shallop load of corn, which they exchanged with "good success" for beaver and other furs that the Indians had trapped. Indeed Bradford claimed, when competitors in the fishing vessels and at Piscataqua were trying to crowd them out from participation in this profitable traffic, that it was his people who "had first begun and discovered"

this opportunity for trade, "and had brought it to so good effect." Allerton had secured a patent covering the right to a monopoly of this business, and on the ground of this exclusive privilege the planters had gone forward and erected the trading-house just mentioned. But the patent secured by Allerton was loosely drawn, and the rivals of the Plymouth people still insisted on invading a territory so promising in profits, and there were no fixed boundaries to hinder their approaches. This new Warrick patent defined the limits of their concession, and gave to the Pilgrims exclusive rights in a section beginning at Augusta and running thirteen miles down the river and extending fifteen miles on each side of it.

Much trouble came of this afterwards, but for the time being, when the colonists were in the throes of their hard struggle for financial freedom, it was a great thing to have full legal possession of a section of the country which afforded so many advantages for remunerative traffic with the Indians. The Pilgrims conducted this business through an agent until 1638, when they leased it for one-sixth of the profits. Attention has been called by one of our writers to the interesting fact that it was out of this "one-sixth of the profits" that the law-and-order loving people of Plymouth built their first prison.

Here the music falls into a minor key, and the story is anything but pleasant to relate. For if good fortune waited on the colonists in the matter of the Warrick patent, and in the most of their efforts to get ahead, there were yet accompanying misfortunes. They had escaped from one sea of troubles, but they were speedily launched into another. Just when they were moving forward to assured success in meeting all their obligations, Allerton, to whom the Pilgrims owed much, as they themselves were ever ready to acknowledge, but who was by nature rather more venturesome than scrupulous, and who seems to have deteriorated with age, not only exceeded his authority in business transactions, but took advantage of his position as trusted agent of the colonists to work for his own private interest.

It is not necessary here to go into details and uncover

The Castine
venture

item by item the tricks and selfish schemes of this man. It is enough to say that a partnership was formed between Allerton and some of the London Adventurers, a grant of land was secured on the Penobscot River, a stock of goods was bought, an agent was engaged to conduct the business, and trade was opened at a point on the river and within their grant which is now known as Castine. To cover appearances and make them serviceable the colonists were invited to join in the project. Inasmuch as the trading-post on the Penobscot was sure to become a formidable rival to the trading-post on the Kennebec, it seemed wiser to the Plymouth men to fall in with Allerton's shrewd suggestion and take their chances in the enterprise. Goods, such as corn and wampum, were furnished them, and the post was assisted in procuring the boats needed to conduct exchanges with the natives. In this way and on this basis the new venture was started.

The result was disheartening, but not surprising. For it was soon discovered that the London end of the syndicate was sending all its best and most attractive goods to the Penobscot rather than to Plymouth, and that the Penobscot end was sending its fat profits, not to Plymouth, but to London. It was a scheme to elicit admiration from the high officials of some of our modern insurance companies. Disaster followed trickery. When Ashley, a disreputable character, had been discharged from his agency, and Willet, an honest man and a representative of the Plymouth interests, had been put in his place, and things had gone well for a while, the French took advantage of his temporary absence from the post, disarmed the servants, and carried off something like five hundred pounds worth of merchandise. Three years later, in 1635, the French appeared again. This time they came with sufficient force to take complete possession of the post and all the goods. This was a heavy loss, and it delayed the happy issue out of their troubles for which the Pilgrims were earnestly praying and faithfully working.

XIII

Had the debit side of the ledger received no entries beyond those which stood in the books when the colonists first began to operate under the new arrangement, the end of the long, hard struggle would have been in sight much sooner. But losses, such as have been indicated, and various set-backs postponed the happy day.

Debt increased by bringing over Leyden associates

To add to the weight of obligations already upon them, the Plymouth contingent of the Pilgrims assumed the entire expense of bringing over two companies of their Leyden associates. One of these companies, consisting of thirty-five persons, arrived in the late summer of 1629. These were landed at Salem. In the spring of the next year the second company came. These were landed at Charlestown, and made their way to Plymouth, as did those who landed at Salem, in small coasting boats. The transportation of so many cost a large sum. It was set down as "above five hundred and fifty pounds, besides their fetching from Salem and the Bay." This was not the whole of it, however. These newcomers were poor, and they had to be supported — some of them for a year and some of them for a year and a half — until they were in condition to support themselves. "And this charge of maintaining them all this while was little less than the former sum." The former sum was just given as "above five hundred and fifty pounds."

This, however, is a story at once so tender and so creditable to all concerned, that Bradford must be allowed to tell it in his own words:

"These things I note more particularly, for sundry regards.

"First, to show a rare example herein of brotherly love and Christian care in performing their promises and covenants to their brethren, to, and in a sort beyond their power, that they should venture so desperately to engage themselves to accomplish this thing, and bear it so cheerfully; for they never demanded, much less had, any repayment of all these great sums thus disbursed.

"Second, it must needs be that there was more than of man in their achievements, that should thus readily stir up the hearts of such able friends to join in partnership with them in such a care, and cleave so faithfully to them as they did, in so great adventures; and the more because the most of them never saw their faces to this day; there being neither kindred, alliance or other acquaintance or relatives between any of them than hath been before mentioned; it must needs be therefore the special work and hand of God.

"Third, that these poor people here in the wilderness should, notwithstanding, be enabled in time to repay all these engagements, and many more unjustly brought upon them through the unfaithfulness of some, and many other great losses which they sustained, which will be made manifest, if the Lord be pleased to give life and time. In the meantime, I cannot but admire His ways and works towards His servants, and humbly desire to bless His holy name for His great mercies hitherto."

What a resplendent memorial window does this passage make in the simple but magnificent temple of civil and religious liberty which the Pilgrims were erecting in the wilderness!

Further embarrassment was imported into the situation by the addition of the names of four men in London to the list of eight or nine colonists who had become responsible for the proper management of the financial affairs of the colony. These men were Sherley, Beachamp, Andrews, and Hatherly.

It was thought that these names would increase the credit of the colony and greatly facilitate the doing of business abroad. Of the value of Hatherly's services we shall learn more as we proceed. But Sherley, while pretending great regard for the Pilgrims, and for a time trusted by them, either through business incompetency, or carelessness, or downright dishonesty, added greatly to the burden of the colony and delayed final settlement much longer than otherwise would have been necessary.

XIV

This is, perhaps, the most suitable place for saying that, within the quarter of a century in which the Pilgrims were struggling with their debts, there were other
Helpful accessions to the colony besides those brought
accessions over from Leyden. Some of these were men of
to the exceptional intelligence and energy, and they
colony were exceedingly useful to the settlement.

This is also true of a number of those who joined the colony from Leyden. Both amongst their old associates and in the groups of new friends who from time to time cast in their lot with them, there were accessions whose presence added to the material and moral resources of the little company, and made it easier to secure progress. A few of these will have mention further on in connection with special services which they rendered. The names of others, and the contributions they made through their characters and deeds to the welfare of the Pilgrim state, may have record here.

One of the most vigorous and helpful men who joined the colony after the first settlement had been made at Plymouth was Timothy Hatherly. He was one of
Timothy the Merchant Adventurers, as well as one of the
Hatherly four Londoners who became associated with the group of colonists in their efforts to extricate the settlement from debt. Goodwin says that he had been over twice before; but in 1632 he identified himself more intimately with the Pilgrims and settled at Scituate. He counted but a unit in the census of the new state; but he counted much more than a unit in pluck and foresight. He knew how to plan and push. His mind was active, and he was full of the spirit of enterprise. For those days his wealth was considerable; and though he lost heavily at times by fire and in other ways, he never failed to recover his financial standing. Undertakings which promised to be of advantage to the colony were sure to have his cordial support. Good sense and catholicity of temper marked his

conduct. When the craze of opposition to the Quakers was at its height he refused to yield to it, and kept his head level. Like Cudworth and Robinson, Hatherly lost the favor of the authorities by his attitude in this controversy, and for a while had to retire into the background; but his merit was recognized, and in the long run he lost nothing by his wise and brave stand against a zeal that was without knowledge.

William Thomas was a notable man. He came to Plymouth in 1630. He was one of the Merchant Adventurers, and in this capacity reference has already been made to him. He was of the sturdy type of Englishmen, and he stood for things high-toned and manly. The charge of illiberality in his religious views and conduct has been laid at his door, but neither his personal integrity, nor his efficiency, nor his interest in the good of the colony, has ever been called in question. He removed from Plymouth to Barnstable, and later he became a resident of Marshfield. He represented, first Barnstable, and then Marshfield, in the General Court; and for seven years he was one of the governor's assistants. The town in which he spent his closing years still cherishes his memory; and a line of brave and worthy descendants has honored the name he gave them.

John Jenney was a man of mark. He reached the colony from Leyden in 1623. Not all at once, but in the later years of his life he made his presence felt decisively in the business activities of the community. He built a grist-mill. The mill did not do its work to the entire satisfaction of the people who were served by it; but it was a move in the right direction. He engaged in ship-building; and induced a dozen or more of the leading men of the colony to join him in meeting the expense of the construction of the largest vessel that had been put on the stocks up to the time of his death in 1644. He was one of the eight men appointed to cooperate with the governor and his assistants in formulating a code of laws. He was a public-spirited and energetic citizen; and he did much to keep things going.

Thomas Willet was a man whose career, as we study it from this distance, is exceedingly interesting. He came from Leyden, and reached Plymouth in 1630.

Thomas He was then only about twenty years of age.
Willet In his ability and character, however, he gave

promise of great usefulness, and this promise was fulfilled. Not long after his arrival he was drafted into service in connection with Edward Ashley in the management of the trading-post at Castine, on the Penobscot River. Ashley, as has just been said, was a man in every way disreputable. In a short time he was arrested for wrong-doing and sent back to England. Willet succeeded to the business. Things went on swimmingly for a while; but the robbery of the station, already mentioned, by the French in 1632, and the practical confiscation of the entire stock of goods and the expulsion of the English from the post three years later by D'Aulney, who was acting under orders of the French authorities, brought this undertaking to a disastrous issue, and changed the course of Willet's life. But it did not change the respect in which he was held by his associates in the colony, nor block his way to conspicuous and honorable usefulness. He was transferred to the trading-post on the Kennebec. Not long after, on account, no doubt, of his knowledge of the language, of his keen business sense and uprightness in dealing with men, and of his agreeable manners and tact, we find him shifted over into trade with the Dutch at Manhattan.

All through, Willet was an alert and trusted citizen. He became captain of the little company of rustic soldiers at Plymouth. For fourteen years he was assistant to the governor.

The fact, however, which gives to the man a peculiar eminence in history, is that he was the first mayor of the city of New York. He was appointed to this office by the commissioners of the king when the English came in and captured the settlement in 1664. It was then only a Dutch trading-station; but in variety of races and tongues represented among its people, it was already giving promise of the greatness to which it was to rise. The Dutch recaptured the place in 1673. Willet then came back to the colony.

Still, it will never cease to be an interesting incident that it was a member of the Pilgrim Colony who headed the long line of distinguished men who have presided over the destinies and guided the affairs of the metropolis of our nation. A great grandson of this first mayor was also mayor of New York. Near the close of his life, Willet transferred his residence from Plymouth to Swansea. On the succession of the Dutch to power at the mouth of the Hudson, he returned to his new home; and there, a year later, honored and beloved, he passed on to his reward.

There were others who were helpful to the colony in many ways during the years of severe struggle in which the brave leaders were trying to lift its burdens and gain a secure footing for themselves and their institutions. John Atwood, Isaac Robinson, Nathaniel Morton, the Southworths, Constant and Thomas, and others of similar ability and character fall into this class. All that it is necessary to say about them is, that they were efficient aids to the colony in those days of hard wrestling when every atom of help counted.

Other
names

XV

It is refreshing, however, to be able to write that all their burdens, piled one after another on top of the load they set out to carry, while they staggered and sometimes dismayed them for the moment, did not crush the Pilgrims. Year after year they planted their slowly widening fields; they gathered their steadily increasing harvests; they nourished their herds and flocks; they plucked wealth from the seas; they sold their surplus products to neighboring colonies and the red men of the forest; they bartered their goods, bought at high prices and brought from afar, in exchange for otter and beaver, and turned over their gains to their creditors on the other side of the Atlantic. They planned carefully; they worked hard; they lived frugally; they denied themselves comforts, and many things even which might

Free at
last

have been considered necessary to their general welfare, in order to meet their obligations and clean the slate of debt. They were often at their wits' end, and in doubt which way to turn and what to do next; but they never hesitated long, and when disappointments and disasters overtook them they soon rallied, and gathering up what strength they had and using all available resources, they pressed straight on to their goal.

The struggle was protracted. Concerning the exact time when it could be said of the colony that it was free from all indebtedness, the writers differ. Dr. Morton Dexter has a passage in which he says: "But good fortune smiled upon them and by great exertions they appear to have paid all their obligations in full in the course of 1633." He draws this conclusion from a statement made by Bradford. But a close examination of Bradford's language leads one to question whether the inference is warranted. His words are: "It pleased the Lord to enable them this year to send home a good quantity of beaver, besides paying all their charges, and debts at home." It was accounts at the home end of the line — "all their charges, and debts at home," of which Bradford was speaking, and not the heavier accounts across in England. Goodwin, as seen in the quotation which stands at the head of this chapter, adjourns this happy consummation to 1646. This is no doubt the correct date. Had the Pilgrims received due credit for all their assignments; or had they been able to secure a satisfactory settlement of their affairs, their deliverance from debt, even in spite of all the misfortunes they suffered and the injustices and frauds which were practised upon them, would have come much earlier.

Still deliverance came at length. After a steady and determined effort, which stretched on through a period of more than a quarter of a century, to accomplish their purpose and gain this high vantage ground, the hour came when the Pilgrims owed no man anything. It was an hour for the doxology.

XIV

RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS

They treated the Indians with justice and good faith.

GEORGE F. HOAR.

The course of conduct pursued towards them had been praiseworthy in a singular degree. The Indians were a people extremely difficult to deal with by reason alike of their mental and of their moral defects; but they were treated equitably and generously. — JOHN G. PALFREY.

In 1676, it was as truly as proudly said by Governor Josiah Winslow, of Plymouth, "I think I can clearly say, that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this Colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors."

ALEXANDER YOUNG.

The people of Plymouth never did, until after Philip's war, claim or obtain any lands belonging to the Indians, by violence or conquest. After the defeat and dispersion of the Wampanoags, fifty-six years after the first settlement, then, and not till then, were the lands occupied by them, sequestered by the Conquerors, for the benefit of wounded soldiers, and those who had been ruined by the desolations of that fierce contest.

JONATHAN PRESCOTT HALL.

Through the instrumentality of Governor Edward Winslow, the English Parliament passed an act for promoting and propagating the gospel amongst the Indians in New England; and a society was incorporated for the purpose of receiving donations which the Commissioners of the United Colonies were authorized to appropriate as they saw fit.

FRANCIS BAYLIES.

The natives of Cape Cod . . . and their successors ever remained fast friends of the whites. Indeed, the very extensive missionary labor among them was far more effective and enduring than the justly famed work in Massachusetts by John Eliot. — JOHN A. GOODWIN.

XIV

RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS

SMALL wits have a fashion of saying that the Pilgrims, on reaching these shores, first fell on their knees and then on the aborigines. This is cheap punning and rather tame caricature. The simple fact is, that these natives of the land were dealt with in a way to meet at once the conditions of justice and mercy to savage tribes and of safety and growth to Christian colonists.

I

It is not to be disguised that the Pilgrims had a vivid conception and a wholesome dread of the blood-thirstiness of the Indians. They shared the common view of their day that these people were malignant and treacherous to the last degree. One of the strongest objections to going to North America grew out of this fear of the red men. Going there, they would "be in continual danger," so it was said, "of the savage people, who are cruel, barbarous, and most treacherous, being most furious in their rage, and merciless when they overcame; not being content only to kill, and take away life, but delight to torment men in the most bloody manner that may be, flaying some alive with the shells of fishes, cutting off the members and joints of others by piecemeal, and, broiling on the coals, eat the collops of their flesh in their sight while they live, with other cruelties too horrible to be related."

The exiles as a body did not entertain this estimate of the Indians; but they knew that they were savages, untutored, jealous of encroachments, revengeful, often more inhuman than death; and that it would be no child's play to

overcome their opposition, maintain amicable relations with them, and on grounds considered their own by right of immemorial inheritance, open lands and build up homes and lay the foundations of another and higher style of life.

II

At the opening of this rehearsal of the story of the Indians and the relations of the Pilgrims to them during the earlier years of the settlement at Plymouth, one cannot help noting how marked was the providence by which the way was prepared for the colonists to make their landfall in safety, and permanently to establish their homes with the fewest possible chances of friction and danger.

Forerunning these, were other providences, fitting into this one as cog to mesh, which were quite as significant in their bearing on the final issue. How striking, for instance, that after all their three or four years of conference, and all their efforts to do something else, the Pilgrims were shut up to just the one course they took. How striking again that at a most critical moment the winds and the currents, quite independent of the gratuitous and unproven charge of treachery on the part of the captain of the vessel he sailed, were made to overrule the intentions of the voyagers, so that instead of being carried to the mouth of the Hudson they were set down on the coast of Eastern Massachusetts. To devout minds, or minds which believe that God is in his world to-day as he was yesterday, and that he is evermore a controlling factor in human affairs, there will always seem something divine in the direction given to the ship which bore our exiles to their high destiny. The shore was bleak, and the soil was far from possessing the fertility of the fat river valleys; but this craft of undying fame was conducted by an invisible pilot to the right haven — a haven made ready to insure the safety of the precious freight she had brought across the waters.

Consider for a little the situation. Had the savages existed to the number which had once occupied the territory about to be possessed by these Englishmen, even though they had been far less ferocious and cruel than the imagination of Europeans had pictured them, they would have constituted a formidable foe, and the peril of invading their lands and attempting to displace them would have been very great. The Patuxets formerly lived in this section of the country. Long before the arrival of the whites on these shores influences were at work, such as fierce tribal wars and contagious diseases, which were decimating the Indians, and portending in no long time the extinction of the race. The Patuxets, so we are led to infer, were sharers in this general decay. But the ruin of the tribe was hastened and made complete by the breaking out of a destructive plague four years before the coming of the Pilgrims. The fatal disease continued its ravages for two years. What it was has not been determined — only it is known to have been neither yellow fever nor smallpox. It began near the Saco River in Maine and worked its blighting way south as far as Narragansett Bay. White men were not affected by it. Indians went down before it like grass before a prairie fire.

In this twofold way, immediately before the arrival of the Pilgrims, the Plymouth region was swept practically clean of its native inhabitants. Only a single member so far as known of the Patuxets was left alive. Of him we shall have occasion to say more presently.

Other contiguous tribes were well-nigh annihilated. The plague had spared the Pequods and Narragansetts; but other forms of disease and wars were making fatal inroads on their numbers and strength. Of the tribes seriously affected by the plague it has been estimated that nineteen out of every twenty of the population were taken off. In the Massachusetts Confederacy the pestilence reduced the effective warriors from something like three thousand to about one hundred.

The door for entrance at Plymouth was more than ajar.

God in his own mysterious way had swung it wide open. By landing just there and at just that time, the dangers of attacks upon the Pilgrims by the savages were reduced to their lowest terms,

III

The first contact of the Pilgrims with the Indians was of a nature to startle them and put them on their guard. In each of their three exploring expeditions they came close to small bands of savages; but in only one of them did these people of the forest display any disposition to make a stand and show fight. This was on their final tour in search of the right spot at which to make their landing. At the close of one of their most wearisome days of travel and observation, at "about midnight," in their little extemporized barricade, they "heard a hideous and great cry." After a little investigation they concluded the cry came from "a company of wolves, or such like beasts." It was not wolves, but Indians prowling about. The next morning the cry was heard again; and this time the cry was accompanied with arrows. The arrows were answered with musket shots; and altogether it was quite a little skirmish. When the answering fire got too hot for the Indians, they turned on their heels and fled. The Pilgrims followed them up for a short distance, "and shouted once or twice, and shot off two or three pieces. . . . This they did, that they might conceive that they were not afraid of them or any way discouraged."

The Indians who made this attack were of the tribe of the Nausites, whose headquarters were at Nauset, or what is now Eastham. They were naturally and justly incensed against the whites on account of the atrocious conduct of Captain Thomas Hunt, who, back in 1614, while his ship was lying at anchor in the harbor, seized seven of their number, to which he added twenty kidnapped from the interior of the country, and then sailed away with them to Europe where they were sold into

slavery. Moreover, these were the Indians from whom the exploring party of the Pilgrims had taken the corn which they had stored up for the winter. It is no wonder that they were hostile, and that two years after the Hunt outrage, when a French fishing-smack was cast away on Cape Cod, they set upon the helpless mariners, and pursued and slaughtered them till only three were left; and that still more recently they had slain three Englishmen belonging to Gorges' ships or parties. Nor is it any wonder that this fresh importation of white men, who had already helped themselves to supplies from their rude garner, filled their minds with alarm, and kindled in them anew the determination to be avenged in blood for the grievous wrongs done them, and on no pretenses to be tricked again. It was this lurking sense of past injustice which sharpened and winged the arrows against this little band of well-meaning home-seekers.

On neither side was any one hurt; but the Pilgrims, thinking no doubt that this experience of attack and conflict might be many times repeated, called the place the "First Encounter." In this designation they were falling in, as was the custom of the day, with Old Testament usage. In Samuel, for instance, the place where Abner's twelve men tried conclusions with the twelve men of Joab is called "The field of the sharp knives." If this mere picket-line engagement may appear slightly amusing in our eyes, it is not to be forgotten that the business wore an aspect altogether different back there on that gray December morning, in that unexplored wilderness, not far from three hundred years ago.

IV

After these experiences, save that on one occasion, about the middle of February, some tools which Standish and Cooke had left in the woods were taken by the natives, all the intercourse which was carried on between the Pilgrims and the Indians for three months was now and then catching glimpses of each other.

But one morning, well on into the spring, when the days had begun to be "fair" and "warm," and the birds were singing, "in the woods most pleasantly," and "some garden seed was sown," there fell upon the ears of a few of the leading colonists who were then in grave deliberation on military questions, the sweet but surprising word — "Welcome." It was sweet because it was in English, and conveyed a sentiment all were glad to hear.

Nevertheless, the sound of it caused every pulse to beat quick with alarm. For the salutation was uttered by a "savage," who broke in upon the little parliament of wise ones "very boldly" and "all alone." It was soon discovered that this intruder was not an enemy in disguise, bent on spying out the weakness of the colony and betraying them all to their destruction, but an honest man, "free in speech, so far as he could express his mind," sincere, and with no thoughts or feelings other than those of the utmost friendliness. He was the first Indian with whom the colonists came into personal touch.

V

The name of this child of the forest was Samoset. He had learned some broken English from the Englishmen who came to fish on the coast of Maine. He was an original proprietor of the place and chief of the tribe located in what is now known as the town of Bristol in that state. Several months before the arrival of the *Mayflower* he had been brought from his home in the east to Cape Cod. He still lingered in the region. Conscious of his own friendly interest, and apparently free from any suspicion of harm to himself, this visitor to the newcomers was disposed to make himself at home at once. Indeed, he was disposed to make himself quite too much at home to suit the cautious notions of his hosts. He would have gone straight into the rendezvous the Pilgrims had erected, had he been allowed. He did not hesitate, however, to make his wants known. He asked for beer; for in association with Eng-

lishmen he had learned something about them beside their language. His courteous entertainers went beyond his asking and gave him "strong water, and biscuit and butter and cheese, and pudding, and a piece of a mallard, all of which he liked well." One who has seen a hungry Indian eat can readily understand the hearty relish with which these savory articles of diet were devoured.

Nor was this the full extent of the kindness shown to the red man. He was "stark naked," or practically so. These compassionate disciples of a compassionate Master, shivering themselves, no doubt, from the sharp winds which had arisen on that March day, and not without a keen sense, in the trying circumstances in which they were placed, of the prudential value of a hospitality the most thoughtful and generous, "cast a horseman's coat about him." There in that circle, with his nakedness covered and his stomach full, he must have felt unusually comfortable. It is not strange that he forgot the instinctive reticence of his race and became garrulous. "All the afternoon we spent in conversation with him." The name of the place where they then were he told them was Patuxet. He also told them of the fearful ravages of the plague, to which reference has just been made, by which the native inhabitants were swept away till "neither man, woman, nor child" remained.

It was only human in him to want to stay longer with these good friends who had robes with which to cover his back, and liquors with which to warm his marrow and loosen his tongue, and wild duck with which to satisfy his appetite and transport him into an elysium of content. "We would gladly have been rid of him at night; but he was not willing to go this night. Then we thought to carry him on shipboard; wherewith he was well content, and went into the shallop; but the wind was high, and the water scant, that it could not return back. We lodged him that night at Stephen Hopkins' house, and watched him." The next day he was successfully dismissed. But he went away bearing gifts. The leaders presented him "a knife, a bracelet and a ring." Moreover, they secured a promise from him — which could not have been very difficult —

"within a night or two to come again," and to bring with him some of their neighbors of his race. They asked also to have furs brought to them by him and his friends when they should come the next time, in order that trade might be opened with them.

As might have been anticipated, "the savage" returned the very next day. His satisfaction in "strong water"

and "mallard" was too keen to permit him to linger long on the way to such another feast. He "brought with him five other tall, proper men." These men were of the "complexion" of "English gypsies." They had "no hair, or very little, on their faces." "On their

heads" they had hair reaching "to their shoulders;" "only" it was "cut before." Some of them had their hair "turned up before with a feather, broadside like a fan." Another with more of the Indian dude in him than the rest, had his head ornamented with a fox tail. They were dressed in the height of fashion. "They had, every man, a deer skin on him; and the principal of them had a wild-cat's skin, or such like, on his arm. They had, most of them, long hosen, up to their groins, close made; and above their groins to their waist, another leather. They were altogether like the Irish trousers."

With them "they brought three or four skins." It was Sunday, however; and Sunday was no day for trucking. It will surprise many, whose one idea of the Pilgrims is of their uncompromising conformity to the letter which killeth, to know that, while they would not buy nor sell on the Lord's Day, they were sufficiently liberal to meet the obligations of a sympathetic and open-handed hospitality. "We gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting them. They did eat liberally of our English victuals. They made semblance unto us of friendship and amity. They sang and danced after their manner, like antics." As soon as possible, these visitors whose coming was so inopportune were sent away. On going, the "five other tall, proper men" left the few skins they brought — showing thus their confidence in the new neighbors, and "promised within a night or two" to visit them again and add to the stock of skins

for barter. It ought to be said that they were not allowed to go away empty. "The Sabbath Day, when we sent them from us, we gave every one of them some trifles, especially the principal of them." It ought also to be said that this delegation brought back the tools which had been taken from the woods where Standish and Cooke had carelessly left them. It was to the credit of the Indians to do this, as it was to the credit of the Pilgrims to pay for the corn which they had taken.

Samoset, however, was not so easily bowed out. He "either was sick, or feigned himself so; and would not go with them, and stayed with us till Wednesday morning." Then he was sent to ascertain the reason why his associates had not kept their word and returned. He must have gone in the best of humor; for on his departure these shrewd diplomatists put him under fresh bonds of gratitude by giving him "a hat, a pair of stockings and shoes, and a piece of cloth to be about his waist."

The Pilgrims never had to wait long for Samoset. A friend from the beginning, after his first introduction to their "English victuals," he was always a prompt messenger. Sent away on Wednesday, he was back on Thursday. This time he was accompanied by an exceedingly interesting companion, and he bore important tidings. Along with three others he brought Squanto, and announced that Massasoit, the chief of the Indians who were nearest to them, was close by and awaited an interview.

VI

This Squanto was the only known survivor of the Patuxet tribe. He had been one of the unhappy, and yet in every way fortunate victims of the vile treachery of an English sea-captain. The despicable plotter of this wicked scheme was Captain Thomas Hunt, and in explanation of the hostility of the Nausites, the shameless transaction has already been recounted.

Bradford, in "Mourt's Relation," tells the story briefly, but he puts upon it the stamp of his righteous indignation. He "deceived the people, and got them under color of trucking with them, twenty out of this very place where we inhabit, and seven from the Nausites, and carried them away, and sold them for slaves for twenty pounds a man, like a wretched man that cares not what mischief he does for his profit."

Squanto fell into good hands. Though transported to Spain and there bartered for gold, he found his way after a while to London. During the six years before the Pilgrims set foot on Plymouth Rock, he was in close association with the English. He learned their language, became accustomed to their manners and ways, and acquired the preparation needed for the special service he was to render in the later period of his life. For three years he is said to have had a home with Gorges. This is more than probable; for the relation which Gorges had with colonization in the New World, and the interest he had in getting all the information he could about the country and the people, would naturally lead him to shelter and aid any Indian who might be of assistance to him in the future. He is known to have taken three of the five natives, whom Captain George Weymouth carried back with him in the *Archangel* when he returned from his trading and exploring voyage to the northern coast of New England in 1605. One distinguished writer thinks Squanto may have been one of these three; but this is not likely. In so simple and recent a matter Bradford and his associates could not easily have been deceived.

Whatever there may be of a merely conjectured nature in the record, however, it is certain that our Indian was brought back to America in one of Gorges' ships, which was then in command of Captain Dermer. Meantime Squanto had spent a good portion of his sojourn in London with John Slaney, a merchant of some distinction evidently, and the treasurer of the Newfoundland Company. Connected as he was with both Gorges and Slaney, it is possible that this captive may have had more than one round trip across the Atlantic. At any rate, he was in circumstances from the

hour in which he was kidnapped to the hour of his release to learn fast the lessons which the Overruling One had to teach him in order that he might do successfully his appointed work.

There can be no justification of a crime like this of which Squanto was the victim; but, as in the case of Joseph, the sale of this helpless Indian into bondage was an act of wickedness which God turned about for good. He maketh the wrath of man to praise him. He was a friend God-sent to a God-sent people, to be language to them when they could not make their own language understood, and to be hands to them in the performance of tasks to which their own hands were not trained, and to be their shelter and defense in many an emergency when misunderstandings had clouded the sky, and storms of anger were threatening to break upon them.

Bradford's testimony concerning the value of Squanto to the colony is simple and touching. "He was their interpreter, and was a special instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectations. He directed them how to set their corn, when to take fish, and to procure other commodities, and was also their pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit and never left them till he died."

He was far from perfect. He had not a little of the personal ambition and not a few of the weaknesses which characterize his race. The increasing consciousness of his importance to the English settlers turned his head, and he hatched a plot which was unworthy of him and might have been, if successfully executed, most mischievous. Of this there will be more to say in another paragraph. When there were ends to be gained by exaggeration or by adroitly concealing facts, straightforward truth-telling was not one of his burning passions.

But Bradford knew his worth, and though he did not justify him in his scheme to supplant Massasoit by stirring up jealousy and strife between him and the Pilgrims, he continued to use him to the last. The end came in the late autumn of the second year after the settlement at Plymouth, at Monomoy, or what is now Chatham, when he was acting as pilot and interpreter on board the *Swan* on a trading

expedition to the south side of Cape Cod. The governor nursed him tenderly, and when he was gone, briefly told the story and paid to him this undying tribute: "At this place Squanto fell sick of an Indian fever, bleeding much at the nose — which the Indians took for a symptom of death — and within a few days died there; desiring the Governor to pray for him, that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven, and bequeathed sundry of his things to sundry of his English friends, as remembrances of his love; of whom they had a great loss." Verily, none knew this better nor appreciated it more keenly than Bradford.

VII

Massasoit was a man who was to mean much to the Pilgrims. His attitude was a hinge on which important events were to turn. At the time of his introduction to the colonists he was at the head of the Pokanoket tribes; and his official home was at Sowams, or what is now the town of Warren, Rhode Island, on Narragansett Bay. His own tribe was the Wampanoag. The Patuxets were of this confederacy; but, as we have seen, they had been wiped out by the plague. There were eleven tribes, and some scattered bands here and there, still remaining under his authority; and according to Cushman they were popularly supposed to be "the most cruel and treacherous people in all those parts, even like lions."

On this first visit to his new neighbors, Massasoit was accompanied by a little army of sixty warriors. His brother, Quadequina, and other members of his cabinet, were also with him. The occasion called for the exercise of all the wit the Pilgrims possessed; but they were equal to the occasion. They were not without grave suspicions; still they put on a bold front and faced the situation with a resolute daring. There were suspicions on the other side, and a cautious feeling of the way; but at length the fears of both parties were sufficiently allayed to permit

Rhode
Island

cruel
lions

First visit
to Pil-
grims

of their approach to each other. There was a good deal of formality in the proceeding, for high dignitaries were to meet; the chief of a commonwealth of white men with his staff, and the chief of a confederacy of red men with his train of advisers and followers.

It was an hour after Massasoit's presence in the vicinity was announced before he appeared on Watson's Hill, which was across the brook from where the Pilgrims were holding their deliberations. Through Squanto he made it known that he wanted a messenger sent to him. Winslow, the man for the hour when skill in diplomacy was required, and especially for an hour like this when not only diplomatic skill but a high degree of courage was needed, went over to him. He bore gifts, and gifts in this modern instance were not grounds of distrust, but tokens of friendship. After two or three hours of eating and parleying, it was decided that Winslow should remain as a hostage, while Massasoit under escort of a score of his faithful warriors should pass over to the rendezvous of the Pilgrims. He was met at the ravine by Standish and Allerton and six others bearing arms, and properly saluted and conducted into the presence of Governor Carver. The high officials kissed each others hands; and then all concerned in this interview fell to eating and drinking. The "strong water" which these exiles had brought with them was manifestly of high proof; and Massasoit was exceedingly fond of it. On this occasion he is said to have "drank a great draught, that made him sweat all the while after."

The outcome of this conference was a treaty of amity which remained in force till long after the framers of it were in their graves. The terms of this treaty are drawn out in full by Bradford, and published in his "History." It is enough to say of these terms that they are fair and open, and mutual in the obligations and duties which they impose, and constitute a genuine compact of peace.

In commenting on the agreement, Goodwin, in his "Pilgrim Republic," makes this fine point: "Voltaire says of William Penn's treaty — 'It was the only one ever concluded between savages and Christians that was not ratified

with an oath, and the only one that was never broken! Yet here was such a treaty, and made long before Penn's birth, and it was ratified by no oath, nor was it broken during the lifetime of any of the contracting parties."

It would be difficult to overestimate the value of this alliance to the Pilgrims. Massasoit found his account in it in the increased defense it would afford him against his old-time and bitter enemies — the Narragansetts. To Carver and his associates it brought the prospect, and what in the issue proved to be the assurance, of peace, with their nearest savage neighbors; and thus gave them the priceless opportunity, with the least likelihood of molestation, to secure a permanent footing in the land, to go and come without fear of ambuscades, to sow and reap their fields, to carry on their trade, and to plant their homes and develop their institutions.

VIII

In the midsummer of the year in which this treaty was drawn up and ratified, it seemed good to the Pilgrims, in order to show their confidence, express their friendship, and at the same time get in a little stroke of important business, to send a deputation to Massasoit. Winslow and Hopkins were named for this duty. Squanto went along to act as guide and interpreter. It took the better part of two days to reach Sowams, which was forty miles away.

The discomforts on the route and after arriving at their destination, were not a few. Food was scant. Indeed, the larder of this head of a powerful confederacy was entirely empty, and these hungry ambassadors had to go to bed without supper. But the sleeping accommodations were of the nerve-trying order, especially at the grand sachem's. As the narrative has it: "He laid us on the bed with himself and his wife — they at one end, and we at the other; it being only planks laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat

upon them. Two more of his chief men, for want of room, pressed by and upon us; so that we were worse weary of our lodgings than of our journey."

However, the object of the visit was attained. The presents sent were gratefully received, the favors sought were cheerfully granted, and the bonds of friendship between the Pilgrims and the Pokanokets were greatly strengthened. **Good accomplished** Massasoit was informed that he himself and any friends he might send to them would always be welcome guests at Plymouth; but in diplomatic language he was told that he must restrain his people from flocking to them in such throngs as they had been doing lately. Their supplies, they feared, were not equal to this drain. Hearty assent was given to the request. The chief also promised to encourage trade, and to ascertain the names of the owners of the corn which the Pilgrims had taken at Cape Cod that they might be paid. This, as we have seen, was done. After spending a night and a day and another night with the sachem, with only a single meal, made from two fish, in which forty persons shared, the hungry, sleepy, and tired embassy set out for home.

It is no wonder there was impatience to be off. For here are a few more strokes of rather vivid coloring painted into the picture of their nights. "Very importunate he was to have us stay with him longer; but we desired to keep the Sabbath at home; and feared we should be lightheaded for want of sleep. For what with bad lodging, the savages' barbarous singing, for they use to sing themselves to sleep; lice and fleas within doors, and mosquitos without, we could hardly sleep all the time of our being there. We much feared that if we should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength."

They reached the plantation Saturday night. Many of their experiences were trying; but they had done a good bit of work. They had cemented the ties of friendship, and they had learned much by personal observation concerning the country adjacent to their settlement.

This visit to Massasoit at his official seat in Sowams, or Warren, had to be followed very soon by an expedition to

Nauset, or Eastham. A boy by the name of Billington, John Billington, Jr., one of a scapegrace family which had somehow been foisted upon the Pilgrims at Southampton, had strayed away into the woods and been lost. He wandered up and down for five days. It was in the middle of the warm season, and he could live on berries, and without harm sleep out in the open air or under the shelter of the trees. At length he came out at an Indian settlement, and through Massasoit's runners it was learned that the lost boy was at Nauset. This was a piece of rather startling intelligence; for while it was a relief to learn that the lad was still alive, it was in the nature of a challenge to discover that he was in the hands of the tribe which was so deeply incensed against the whites, and with whom they had had their first trial at arms. A party of ten were designated to go and bring the boy back. The men were well armed, and no doubt abundantly cautioned. In any event it was a delicate, and it might be a difficult, mission on which they were sent. But all went well. The boy was secured and brought back. Some who were still cherishing the old wrath were mollified. The owners of the corn taken on the first exploring expedition were found, and arrangements made with them for satisfactory payment. On the whole the incident was turned to good account, and the Pilgrims were put on a better footing with the Nausites than they had been before.

IX

Difficulties, one after another, were met and mastered. Still the succession of difficulties seemed to be endless. Each new day brought its allotment of trial. There was always some exigency at hand, some pressing problem for these perplexed and sorely burdened Pilgrims to solve. While on the search for the lost boy, the rescuers heard the rumor that Massasoit had been taken by his old enemies and was then held in captivity by the Narragansetts. There was also a whisper in the air to the effect that Squanto had been

betrayed and killed. There was no truth in the report of the capture of Massasoit; though it was true that he had been "put from his country;" or crowded out of territory which hitherto had been supposed to belong to him and his tribes. Nevertheless, the floating hint of peril to the colonists was far from groundless.

Corbitant, a sachem under Massasoit and chief of the Pocasset tribe, was opposed to the treaty which had been entered into between the Pilgrims and the

Enmity
and plots
of Cor-
bitant

Pokanoket Confederacy, and he not only desired but intrigued to break it up. The removal of misunderstandings, and the strengthening of the alliance which had just been brought about between the Plymouth settlers

and the Nausites, angered him still more. He saw his own influence waning, and he openly avowed his dissatisfaction with his chief, and began to do his best to excite prejudice against him. Very naturally he was suspected of having formed a secret compact with the Narragansetts. If so, the conspiracy was a dangerous one. By overt acts he soon made his real attitude known. Squanto and Hobomak, on the breaking out of these startling rumors, were sent to Namasket, now Middleborough, to ascertain how much fire there might be underneath all the smoke.

This Hobomak was one of Massasoit's leading men. He had recently joined himself to the little company of white

Hobomak

people on the coast. With these new-found friends he remained in the bonds of an unflinching loyalty and helpfulness down to the end of a long life. If there were temptations to which others yielded, this man was always true.

The mention of Hobomak, and of his service to the Pilgrims, affords an opportunity to speak more fully of the plot hatched by Squanto, to which reference was made a little back. These two In-

Squanto's
double
dealing

dians were invaluable aids to the colonists. For a long time they stood together and worked together most amicably, but at length they came to the parting of the ways. Squanto conceived the scheme of discrediting Massasoit in the estimation and

confidence of the Pilgrims, and thereby advancing his own standing with them. Hobomak saw through his tricks, and did not hesitate to make known his suspicions.

A suggested trip to Boston Harbor, in March of the second year at Plymouth, in search of food, brought the ambitious intrigues to light. Standish was to go on this expedition, accompanied by ten men and these two Indians. "About the beginning of April" he actually started. Hobomak was ill at ease, and advised against it. Judging from mysterious movements which he had seen in Squanto, he was led to fear that the Massachusetts tribes were in league with the Narragansetts, and in the absence of Standish and his forces would fall on the settlement and wipe it out. This fear he disclosed to the captain and others. Still the expedition started to go by water to their destination.

While Standish was still in the home harbor, detained there by lack of wind, he heard the alarm guns sounding out from the fort, and came back. The occasion of the alarm was "an Indian belonging to Squanto's family," who "came running in seeming great fear, and told them that many of the Narragansetts, with Corbitant, and he thought also Massasoit, were coming against them; and he got away to tell them, not without danger." Hobomak refused to credit the story, and avowed an unshaken confidence in the loyalty of Massasoit. On investigation his faith was found to be justified. The trick was anything but a cunning one by which Squanto expected to promote his own interests. From this, "and other things of like nature," the Pilgrims "began to see that Squanto sought his own ends, and played his own game, by putting the Indians in fear, and drawing gifts from them to enrich himself, making them believe he could stir up war against whom he would, and make peace for whom he would." His real aim was to make the Indians think more of him than of Massasoit, and to fill the minds of the English with the same idea. What he secured was the exposure of his own duplicity, the distrust of the English, and the everlasting hate of Massasoit. Had it been possible for the enraged chief to lay hands on him, he would have made quick work with

our helpful Squanto. For in spite of all his faults of double dealing, this lone Indian, this solitary remnant of a stricken tribe, was of great service to the Pilgrims. While he lacked the highmindedness and sterling integrity of Hobomak, he had qualities which Bradford and his associates knew well how to utilize for the benefit of the colony. It is difficult to see how these first settlers, with all their faith and foresight and courage, could have got on without the aid of these two men — Squanto and Hobomak.

Returning now to the enmity and plots of Corbitant, it is to be said that both of these allies and agents of the

Pilgrims were seized by Corbitant and threatened with instant death. For some reason the threat was not carried out on Squanto, though a knife held in the chief's hands was brandished

about his bosom, and his death was widely heralded. Hobomak, "being a strong and stout man," broke away from his captors, "and came to New Plymouth full of fear and sorrow for Squanto whom he thought to be slain."

This created a condition of things which called for prompt and drastic measures. As the governor and his advisers well conceived, this was treatment "not fit to be borne; for if they should suffer their friends and messengers thus to be wronged, they should have none would cleave unto them, or give them any intelligence, or do them service afterwards; but next they would fall upon themselves." Standish was put at the head of "fourteen men well armed," or most likely only "ten," as another account states, and ordered "to go and fall upon them in the night; and if they found that Squanto was killed, to cut off Corbitant's head; but not to hurt any but those that had a hand in it." The order was carried out. He whom the treacherous sachem wanted to kill for the reason that "if he were dead the English had lost their tongue," was found alive and restored to the colony. Corbitant was brought to his knees, though he was "shy to come near them a long while after." Other tribes were impressed by the quick and vigorous action of the whites in ferreting out and punishing conspiracy, and hastened to enter into treaty alliances with them.

Two or three of the Indians who were hurt in the night raid made on their village — hurt because they refused to keep out of the danger against which they were warned, were brought back to Plymouth, and healed by their "Surgeon," the beloved Samuel Fuller. Both the sharp discipline and the tender kindness were wholesome, but the end was not yet. There would be need of further discipline, as well as the ministry of much more kindness, before peace could be established on a firm and enduring basis.

X

The year was drawing to a close. It had been marked, as we have seen, by much intercourse between the Pilgrims and the Indians, and by substantial progress in amicable relations. There was to be one other notable meeting. In the midsummer, it will be remembered, Winslow and Hopkins, uninvited, visited Massasoit at his official residence in Sowams. The visit was attended with a good deal of personal discomfort, but the results of it were excellent. Would it not promote mutual good feeling and confidence, and cement friendship between the two parties still more closely, to repeat on a large scale, and at the seat of the colony, this free social intercourse? Evidently Bradford and his associates so thought. An invitation was extended to the head of the Pokanokets, and such of his followers as he might deem it advisable to bring with him, to visit Plymouth. Massasoit and ninety of his braves accepted the invitation.

On more than one account the occasion was memorable. It was a harvest festival. It was a glad outpouring of gratitude to God for the mercies with which he had crowned the year, and the beginning of our Thanksgiving Days — the days whose observance at first and for a long time after their inauguration, was confined to New England, but which has now become a recognized and established custom of the nation. Since that awful assault upon their ranks

by disease and death back in the early months of their settlement, things had gone well with the Pilgrims. Good health had waited on the survivors of the stricken company. From the twenty acres which they planted they "had a good increase of Indian corn." Their peas came to nothing, but their barley turned out well. Seven dwelling-houses had been erected, and four buildings had been put up for use in common by the settlers. There was material in hand and preparation made for the rearing of other homes. Men, loyal as these men were to him who is the Giver of every good and perfect gift, and whose piety was marked by devoutness as well as a vigorous righteousness, could not contemplate this measure of success and these tokens of loving care without exclaiming as they did: "God be praised."

This is Winslow's account of the way in which our Thanksgiving Days started, and his recital of the form of the first proclamation which was issued for the general observance of a thanksgiving season, and the preparation which was made in order that the observance might have in it the proper measure of gladness: "Our harvest being gotten in, our Governor sent four men on fowling that so we might, after a more special manner, rejoice together, after we had gathered the fruits of our labors. They four, in one day, killed as much fowl as, with a little help besides, served the Company almost a week." This coming together was made an occasion, not only for the sincere and earnest recognition of the providence which had been over them, but for feasting and resting and universal sports and general enjoyment, "at which time, amongst other recreations, we exercised our arms." This was one of their "recreations." They had "others" — jumping, running, wrestling, shooting at marks, and what not; but no doubt Standish had an eye to business when in the presence of the Indians, who were onlookers at all these proceedings and participants in many of them, he put these sturdy, but most likely rather awkward Englishmen, through the manual of arms, and in the various maneuvers of the drill showed

Winslow's
account of
the first
Thanks-
giving

with what alertness they could pick off an enemy in a real fight.

But the fact in connection with this thanksgiving festival, which has bearing immediately on the point under review, was the presence of these Indians —
 The real Massasoit and almost a hundred of his ad-
 vantages herents. These wild men of the forest were
 of this not only present to share in the feast and the
 gathering festivities, but they were serviceable in helping
 to furnish supplies. "And they went out, and
 killed five deer, which they brought to the plantation;
 and bestowed on our Governor, and upon the Captain, and
 others." Three days the visiting and merriment were kept
 up. How good it was for these hard-worked and tired
 Pilgrims to have this respite from toil and this season of
 unbending. We may be sure that the deepest note struck
 in their thought was profound gratitude to God for his
 goodness, but everything was attuned to cheer and glad-
 ness. The Indians were made happy and trustful. A new
 notch was cut in the stick on which were scored the tri-
 umphs of peace.

Winslow follows up his brief narrative of the coming together of the two races in a glad fellowship with a testimony which is as beautiful as it is simple and tender: "We have found the Indians very faithful in their Covenant of Peace; very loving and ready to pleasure us. We often go with them; and they come to us. Some of us have been fifty miles by land in the country with them. . . . Yea, it hath pleased God so to possess the Indians with the fear of us, and love unto us, that not only the greatest King amongst them — but also all the Princes and peoples round about us, have either made suit with us, or been glad of any occasion to make peace with us. So that there is now great peace amongst the Indians themselves, which was not formerly; neither would have been but for us; and we, for our parts, walk as peaceably and safely in the woods as in the highways in England."

These words bear the date of the first anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock. Surely, these triumphs over the prejudices of the Indians, and the terms

of concord in which they had come to live with them, were marvelous achievements, and with other achievements may well serve to make the first year of our Forefathers on these shores forever memorable.

XI

But though all had gone so well in the dealings of the Pilgrims with the Indians, and the outlook was so encouraging, there were yet dark days and bloody doings ahead. The mutual compact which had been entered into, and which had been so fruitful of good results, embraced not all of the Indians of the region, but only the Pokanoket Confederacy, of which Massasoit was the grand sachem. The Narragansetts, the traditional enemies of the Pokanokets, with Canonicus for their chief, had never come into treaty relations with the colonists, and were made all the more jealous and dangerous because such relations had been established with a rival nation. Some of the outlying tribes, such as the tribes which constituted the Massachusetts Confederacy, and some of the tribes further south, which had a certain affiliation with the Pokanokets, but were never very loyal to the Sowams chief, had little love for the whites, and were all too ready to listen to warlike suggestions from the Narragansetts. Hence, while it was peace and fellowship with Massasoit and those of his people who were true to him, it had to be day-and-night vigilance with other chiefs and tribes, who might at any moment fall on the new settlers and deal them annihilating blows.

Grounds for apprehension were very soon in evidence. If the first year of residence at Plymouth closed with

thanksgiving and high festivities, the second year opened with threats and ominous signs of peril. Canonicus, the head of the Narragansetts, sent to the Pilgrims a quiver of arrows fastened with the skin of a rattlesnake.

It was an open challenge to war, but it brought no pallor to the cheeks of the Pilgrims. Bradford filled the skin with powder and balls, and sent it back with an

accompanying message to the effect that, if the sagamore and his forces wished to try conclusions in battle the Plymouth settlers would be found ready to meet them. The strange package, which was returned unopened, and the resolute reply, filled Canonicus with alarm, and war for the time was averted. The threat, however, was not without its value to the colonists. The fighting contingent was immediately reorganized, and put on a more efficient basis, and the settlement was placed in a better posture of defense; and a sharper eye was kept on the movements of suspected persons.

Still, though this attempt to intimidate the Pilgrims had miscarried, intrigues and conspiracies were in progress. The second year ended without an open outbreak, but near the beginning of the third year plots had thickened, and the gin which had been set by the fowler was ready for its prey.

XII

A large share of the guilt, however, lies at the door of Weston's colony which had been planted at Wessagusset, now Weymouth. Weston himself, as the Pilgrims had early learned to their sorrow, was a marplot; and not a few of his followers were lazy and disreputable. By their bad treatment of the Indians they excited jealousy, aroused antagonism, and in many ways added fuel to a fire which a few madcaps among the disaffected tribes were trying to kindle into a flame. Each member of this ill-starred settlement seems to have been a law unto himself; and there was little care or thought about any proper provision for the future. Being as reckless in conduct as they were profligate in character, when their food supplies ran low, they did not hesitate to steal from the Indians, and in other ways to show their utter disregard of the rights and feelings of their red neighbors. Had it not been for the misdeeds and outrages of these Wessagusset colonists, the Pilgrims would not have been driven into a conflict which has led moralists and humanitarians to shake their heads in disapproval, or at

least to follow the narrative with an interrogation mark. Wrongs done to the Indians engendered hate; but in the weakened condition of the Weston colony, the Indians began to look upon these men with contempt and to insult and maltreat them. At length the Indians decided to destroy the colony, and in order that the work of destruction might be complete, to wipe out the Plymouth Colony as well.

Knowledge of the conspiracy came to the Pilgrims through Massasoit. This chief had not broken the treaty made two years before at Plymouth. But through the injury he had suffered in consequence of the misrepresentations of Squanto, and the refusal of the head men of the whites to give Squanto up that he might be punished, the grand sachem had become cold toward the Pilgrims, and of late had had little intercourse with them. He had refused, however, to lift his hand against them, though overtures having this treachery in view had been made to him. A signal kindness shown to him in an hour of need by the Plymouth people, changed his feelings and brought him back into his old love and loyalty.

Massasoit was very ill. A deputation was sent to him to express sympathy and to render whatever aid might be possible. This was in accordance with both Indian etiquette, which called for special attention in case of sickness and the kindly instincts of the English. Winslow, as might have been taken for granted, headed the deputation. Hobomak was the interpreter. The third member of the party was "one Master John Hamden," so Winslow informs us, "a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country."

Who was this John Hamden? Was he the John Hampden of immortal "ship-money" fame? So some have conjectured. If so, Winslow had with him on this mission of humanity a young man rising twenty-eight years of age, a member of Parliament who had been in his seat more than twelve months, and who had succeeded in coming to the colony, as also in getting away from it, in a remarkably quiet way. The conjecture is not probable. At the same

Conspiracy
revealed by
Massasoit

The Sa-
chem's
heart
touched by
kindness

time it is evident this "Master John Hamden" was a man of resolution and character, or he neither would have wished nor been permitted to share in the hardship and possible perils of this delicate mission.

These humane men were met on the way by conflicting rumors. Some said the chief was already dead; others reported him still alive. Winslow and his attendants pushed on. Massasoit was not dead; but he was so near to death that his recovery seemed hopeless. By the application of proper remedies, and by ministries which would have done credit to a trained nurse, and which were just as trying as any which the trained nurse has to render, the sick chief was restored.

The kindness moved his heart back into the old affection for Bradford and his people. Others had been saying to him before the deputation arrived that these white friends were no friends, or they would have visited him in his sickness. These attentions and his recovery through them led him to exclaim: "Now I see the English are my friends, and love me; and while I live, I will never forget the kindness they have shewed me." In his gratitude he revealed to Hobomak the plots which had been formed against the colonists. The guide was to tell Winslow what he had heard from Massasoit on the way back to Plymouth, and the Pilgrims were to be put on their guard. The plot originated with the Boston Bay Indians; but five or six other tribes were in it. Further confirmation of this threatened massacre came from another sachem. There were many straws, too, which showed which way the wind was blowing.

It could hardly have been otherwise than that disclosures so startling should quicken the blood in the veins of the

Pilgrims. They were never off watch; but this

was an alarm to set their eyes wide open.

After due deliberation on the state of affairs by the governor and his immediate advisers, the whole constituency of the people was called together, since the authorities had no right "to undertake war without the consent of the body of the Company;" and the situation was explained to them. One can feel the solemn hush of the occasion, and realize in some measure how serious the outlook seemed to all the members of that little

The Pil-
grims
aroused

assembly. They were under the shadow of a bloody struggle. What was to be the issue? Were they, one and all, to be the victims of a treacherous and wily foe?

Winslow shall tell us how the matter stood in the common thought: "The business was no less troublesome than grievous; and the more, because it is so ordinary, in these times, for men to measure things by the events thereof; but especially for that we knew no means to deliver our countrymen and preserve ourselves, than by returning their malicious and cruel purposes upon their own heads; and causing them to fall into the same pit they had digged for others — though it much grieved us to shed the blood of those, whose good we ever intended and aimed at as a principle in all our proceedings."

The result of the conference was the appointment of a committee consisting of Bradford, Allerton, and Standish, with power to act. The committee came to the conclusion that blood must be drawn. The blood must be shed leaders in this conspiracy must be sought out and put to death. This is what Massasoit said they ought to do: "As we respected the lives of our countrymen, and our own after-safety, he advised us to kill the men of Massachusetts, who were the authors of this intended mischief." Hobomak agreed with Massasoit, and "used many arguments himself to move us thereto." True, this was Indian counsel and not Christian; but it had its basis and warrant in the interest of self-preservation which is common to all men, whether pagan or Christian, savage or civilized.

Following up this conclusion the brave captain chose eight men, and when all were in readiness, started for the Weymouth settlement. He took no more than eight men, for fear that a larger force would excite suspicion; since it was a part of his strategy to appear on coming to them to be on one of his usual trading expeditions. He took no less than eight men for fear that a smaller number would not be able to cope with the foe he was to meet. Having reached the settlement, and assured himself, as he was charged to do, by additional evidence that the facts were as they had been represented, and warned the settlers

of the impending danger, and gathered the stray members into places of safety, and having waited for what appeared to be the best chance for striking a telling blow, he gave the word, and he and his little band, only three or four of the eight he had brought with him, or just man for man, so chivalrous was he against the foe with which he was to grapple, fell upon the arch conspirators and smote them unto death. Wituwamat, "a notable insulting villian; one who had formerly imbrued his hands in the blood of the English and French and had often boasted of his own valor; and derided their weakness, especially because, as he said they died crying, making sour faces more like children than men," and Pecksuot who bragged of his prowess and taunted Standish with being "a great Captain," but only "a little man," and with whom in this last deadly encounter the "little man" had measured strength, were stretched lifeless at the feet of their assailants. One other of the Indians was slain; "and a youth of some eighteen years of age, which was brother to Wituwamat and, villian-like, trode in his steps," was captured and hung. Another division of the force killed two men. The captain and those with him despatched another man. By this time, the remaining braves took alarm and escaped. But seven of them — the two ringleaders among the seven, had paid the penalty of their treachery and been put where they could enter into no more intrigues and make no more murderous attacks. Standish and his heroic squad returned in triumph. As ordered to do, the intrepid leaders brought back the head of Wituwamat; and in accordance with English custom and the spirit of the age, it was set up as a gruesome warning to all conspirators.

The falling upon the Indians and slaughtering them was a sad business. It was this sanguine episode in the experience of the Pilgrims which led Robinson from across the seas at Leyden to send over the wish that the Pilgrims might have converted some of the Indians before killing any of them. The sentiment was eminently creditable to his heart; but the criticism implied in it had no justification in fact. It is of course possible that God might have brought de-

A sad but
justifiable
act

liverance from threatened perils in some other way. If there was ever a body of men who put an intelligent trust in God, it was these Pilgrims. But while they trusted they kept their powder dry; and they had no idea that God would help those who refused to help themselves.

Their lives and the lives of their wives and children were in peril. The future of their enterprise hung in the balance. There was a way to protect themselves and to establish their colony in security. They had men in their ranks, who, in skill and experience and courage, were equal to the task, and muskets and powder and ball with which to equip them. Not to have done exactly what they did would have been a reckless and cowardly neglect of duty. These dauntless deliverers became a providence of God to the Weymouth people and saved them.

There were no Englishmen outside of themselves who knew their sore straits, and no fellow colonists to come to their rescue. There was but one arm to strike for them, and that was their own. They struck and God gave the blow the right direction and energy to accomplish its purpose.

The drastic dealing brought to an end troubles and fears of this sort. The discipline was severe, but it was salutary.

The drastic treatment salutary There were occasional alarms, and now and then rather trying situations to be met; but no serious conflicts for many years. Not one of the original Pilgrim band, man, woman, or child lost his life at the hands of the Indians.

There remained yet one decisive encounter to be fought out between red man and white, savagery and civilization, the old order of stagnation and death and the new order of progress and life; but this was to be deferred till more than a half century after the landing of the Pilgrims, when the Plymouth colony had become merged in a confederacy of colonies, and the conflict was one which involved all the leading settlements of New England. For these reasons, that the deadly encounter came much later in the life of the colony, that it was fought out under circumstances altogether different from those in which the preceding contests had been carried on, and that it was a unique event in New England history, it has seemed better to defer the

account of it till more of the story of the Pilgrims has been told, and then to gather the facts relating to it, or such of them as it seems advisable to relate, into a chapter by itself.

XIII

In reviewing the attitude of the Pilgrims toward the Indians, and taking all the facts into careful consideration, the impression becomes clear and positive that on the whole the men of Plymouth were not only just, but remarkably kind to the native inhabitants of the land. It has been pertinently said that "when a superior and an inferior race coinhabit, some individual wrongs are inevitable." All the more might such a result be expected when a civilized and a savage people dwell in close proximity. Nevertheless, in this instance the forbearance of the stronger towards the weaker was remarkable. The disposition, too, of the stronger to be of service to the weaker is deserving of all praise.

It is not to be denied, however, that in the course of the years there were one or two breaks in this uniformity of fair and kindly dealing.

A few exceptions to strict justice We have seen that in one instance the Pilgrims took corn from the Indians, without waiting to consult the owners, and appropriated it to their own use. This was when they were new to the country, and were ignorant of the ways of the red men. It was in anticipation of needs which would soon be pressing, and which they saw no other way to meet. It was also done with the full intention of making ample payment on the first opportunity. This they did. All the same the act was wrong.

In another instance, more than fifty years later, the civil authorities at Plymouth violated the pledge made by the military authorities in the field, so Baylies affirms, and sold into slavery about a hundred and sixty Indians, who were induced to surrender as prisoners of war on the distinct understanding that no harm was to come to them in consequence. They were what were called the Dartmouth In-

dians. They lived about Dartmouth. Though the town was destroyed, these particular Indians had no hand in it. It was cruel and unjust to the last degree to treat them in this way. Against treachery so rank, Eels, the captain of the company who brought about the surrender, Church, and others made vehement protest. The protest was in vain. It is true it was the custom everywhere in those days to sell soldiers taken in war into slavery; but there was no excuse for violating a word of honor. The act did a double mischief. It turned the wavering Indians to the wrong side of the bloody contest, and it left an indelible stain on the fair page of Pilgrim history.

After all, the wonder is that there was so little of this perversion of superior skill and power to selfish ends. In a career which covers more than seventy years, the charges of wrong-doing against the Indians by the Pilgrims narrows down to the two instances just mentioned. There were individual cases of bad treatment; but as a body the Pilgrims were marvelously patient with their savage neighbors and tenderly considerate of their rights and interests.

Before using lands which were claimed by the Indians, the Pilgrims were careful to purchase them. There were no

Bought	owners to the land immediately occupied by the
their lands	Pilgrims. The death of the Patuxets by the
of them	ravages of the plague had extinguished titles.
	But in all instances where there were lands
	which were desired by the colonists and owned

by the Indians, the ownership was respected. Speaking of the acknowledgment of right to occupy the territory made to them by Massasoit, Cushman, in his "Lawfulness of Plantations," says: "Neither hath this been accomplished by threats and blows, or shaking of sword and sound of trumpet. For as our faculty that way is small, so our warring with them is after another manner, namely, by friendly usage, love, peace, honest and just carriages, good counsel, etc.; that so we and they may not only live in peace in the land, and they yield subjection to an earthly Prince; but that as voluntaries they may be persuaded at length to embrace the Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ, and rest in peace with him forever." This statement was made so early in

the career of the Pilgrims on these shores that it covers only a short period of their history. Still it is true of them all the way through. The spirit and policy here set forth characterized the land-dealings of the Pilgrims with the natives from first to last. Statements made by Hoar, Palfrey, Hall, and others, and quoted at the head of this chapter, abundantly justify this claim.

Recall the testimony of Governor Josiah Winslow, son of Governor Edward Winslow, made at the time of the war with Philip, to the effect that, in all of their more than fifty years of dealing with them, the Plymouth settlers did not own a foot of land, save that, of course, which had been abandoned and which he did not have in mind when speaking, which they had not obtained by honest purchase from the Indians.

The commissioners sent out by Charles II to examine into the conditions and doings of the colonies, reported that but one complaint was made to them at Plymouth. This was that "the Governor would not let a man enjoy a farm of four miles square which he had bought of an Indian." Indeed, a law was passed in restraint of sharp transactions of this sort with the natives. Under this law no member of the colony was permitted either to buy or gratuitously receive any land from the Indians without submitting the terms of the trade to the court.

As has been said, after the death of Philip, lands which he had claimed and occupied were confiscated and turned over to the uses of the colony which had suffered so severely by the unprovoked uprising. That was justifiable. But up to this time all these land transactions between the two races were marked with the spirit of equity, and it was sell and buy on the basis of the "square deal" which characterizes all other honest sellers and buyers.

The same temper of honesty and kindness marked the Pilgrims in their other relations to the Indians. These

Taught and aided them	English settlers taught the Indians the truths of the gospel. Many of them were brought into the faith and had new and higher views kindled in their souls.
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Rev. Samuel Treat, a son of Governor Treat of Connecticut, became the settled pastor of the church

at Eastham in 1672. Inside of fifteen years the Christian Indians within his parish numbered not less than five hundred. The children who are not included in this estimate, and who are supposed to have been under Christian influences, were two or three times this number. The death of this devoted minister occurred in March, 1717. His funeral was impressive. There had been a tremendous snow-storm. Goodwin thus describes the scene: "The wind so eddied around the parsonage that it was left, untouched by snow, in the basin of an enormous circular drift. Under this barrier a tunnel was excavated for the funeral train. The Indian converts assisted in bearing the body, and the toilsome way required many relays. It was a sublime sight, as, down that crystal archway and on through the outlying drifts, their venerable pastor was borne to his grave by the united hands of his white and red disciples — the returning laborer surrounded by the living sheaves. No titled potentate ever had burial more truly royal." Robert Treat Paine was a grandson of this consecrated and heroic friend of the Indians.

The Pilgrims ministered to the Indians in sickness. They arbitrated their quarrels, and lessened jealousies and frictions between the tribes. They saw that red men who had been employed by white men to do any kind of work were properly remunerated for their services. Improper advantages were not to be taken of them in trade. When oppressed by cold or threatened with starvation, and they made appeals for succor, these untutored savages were never turned unaided from the doors of their civilized neighbors. When discipline was necessary the Pilgrims knew how to administer it, whether it was hanging one of their own number who had been guilty of murder, or smiting the leaders of a cruel conspiracy to the death. But justice and kindness were the watchwords which guided them and characterized the Pilgrims in their dealings with the Indians. The Indian was helped in every way in which he could be helped. Palfrey says: "The shield of law was held over him with assiduous solicitude. Whoever could be proved to have wronged him was made to feel that he had a watchful guardian, severe in measures of redress.

The hurtful engagements into which he was most liable to be entrapped, this law declared to be null from the beginning, . . . and special opportunities for humane and tender treatment of him were generously used."

It was a glorious record — that which was made by the Pilgrims in their dealings with the Indians. There were some mistakes and shortcomings; but, had they been permitted to live their lives over again, there were few transactions in the whole three-quarters of a century which could have been much improved.

XV

FOSTERING THE CHURCH

Thou broughtest a vine out of Egypt; Thou didst drive out the nations and plantedst it. Thou preparedst room before it, and it took deep root and filled the land. — FROM THE EIGHTIETH PSALM.

The men and women who are positive in the character of their beliefs are the men and women who are known to be constructive forces in the regenerative agencies of the world. — W. H. W. BOYLE.

The practical aim or ideal of our fathers, in their migration to the new world, was religion. This was the star of the East that guided them hither.
HORACE BUSHNELL.

I seem to see in the mature designs of Him, . . . who moves in his own appointed times, and selects and prepares his own instruments, the re-enactment of the first scenes of the Christian dispensation, in the establishment of the Christian faith on this unpeopled continent . . . and hail the Pilgrim Fathers as the bearers of a new commission, than which there has been no greater since the time of the Apostles. — WILLIAM M. EVARTS.

The two distinct messages of Congregationalism originally were that the Church of Christ ought to be composed only of persons spiritually renewed and living in obedience to Him; and that such persons united in one local church should have liberty to worship God in their own manner, according to the dictates of their own conscience, and to manage their own ecclesiastical affairs. — THE CONGREGATIONALIST.

We do not honor the Pilgrims simply as the Fathers of New England, but because they were the depositories and best representatives then on the earth of the one central principle on which the hopes of the race rest . . . the vital union of man with God in moral conformity to Him, and so in preparation for an eternal life. — MARK HOPKINS.

XV

FOSTERING THE CHURCH

THE church of which the Pilgrims were members was already an organized institution when they reached the New World. Back at Scrooby, it will be remembered, the little company of kindred spirits who were shocked by the empty formality and disgraceful worldliness into which the church had drifted, and whose hearts had been "touched by the Lord with heavenly zeal for the truth," and who were ready to "shake off the yoke of anti-Christian bondage" which had been placed upon their necks, had joined themselves by solemn covenant "into a Church estate in the fellowship of the Gospel, to walk in all its ways, made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavors, whatever it shall cost them." In England, while the Pilgrims still remained there, at Amsterdam, at Leyden, and in their new and permanent home at Plymouth, this was their bond of union. It was a sacred and all-sufficient bond. How well the terms and implications of it were met, especially by the original parties to it, is one of the shining facts of history. It was no idle claim that "the true piety, the humble zeal, and fervent love of this people, while they lived together, towards God and His ways, and the single-heartedness and sincere affection one towards another," brought them as near realizing "the primitive pattern of the first Churches" as anything which has been seen in these later centuries. It was along the lines and in the spirit of this covenant that the religious life of the Pilgrims was to be developed.

I

In the discussion of the church question at Leyden, two things were definitely settled. It was settled, "by mutual consent and covenant, that those who went
The two branches one should be an absolute Church by themselves, as well as those who stayed." It was also settled that, as the number who were to remain was larger than the number who were to go, Pastor Robinson should abide with the majority, while Elder Brewster should join the emigrating section. They reached the first of these conclusions on the ground that "in such a dangerous voyage, and a removal to such a distance, it might come to pass, for the body of them, never to meet again in this world — yet with this proviso, that as any of the rest came over to them, or any of the others returned upon occasion, they should be reported as members without any further dismission or testimonial." The second conclusion was both natural and just. Still, one cannot help pondering in his own mind what would have been the effect upon the colony, and especially upon the religious life of the colony, had the list of passengers, which the *Mayflower* bore across the Atlantic, contained the illustrious name of John Robinson.

II

The first meeting-house of the Pilgrims was a fort. This fort was built in the trying summer of 1622. The air was thick with rumors of attacks by the
The first meeting-house Indians. Tidings had reached the colony of the dreadful massacre which had already taken place in Virginia. It seemed imperative that a strong defense should be provided. But while safety was the primary object in the erection of this building it was made to do duty for worship. The picture is one familiar to the imagination of the way in which these stern but devout souls went up to the place of

prayer. Called together by beat of drum, marching fully equipped and in orderly ranks, guarded through the long exercises by watchful sentinels, and at the conclusion of the services going back to their homes with slow step and solemn mien, but with hearts encouraged and strengthened by communion with Him whom they sought to acknowledge in all their ways, and by the words of promise which had fallen on their ears from the Scriptures, and by the illuminating remarks of their good elder, they worshiped in spirit and in truth, and the rewards of such worship were bestowed upon them in abundant measure.

III

For almost a decade, or from the hour when Robinson made his prayer of parting and farewell at Delfshaven, to the hour of the settlement of an ordained minister at Plymouth, Brewster was the spiritual guide of the little flock in the wilderness.

This is why his name appears only in the most important of the business transactions of the colony, and why, though his counsel was always in demand and always at the service of the chosen authorities, he was never advanced to civic leadership. In natural ability, in training, and above all, in wide and varied experience in affairs, he was one of the most competent men of the company to stand at the head in times of financial pressure, and when the skies of the future were black with clouds. He was, also, not only one of the best, but the best one to have charge of the religious interests of the Pilgrims. He had the age, the knowledge, the furnishing of books, the spiritual insight, the devout temper, the loving heart, the irreproachable character, the confidence and affection of the people, and — a matter of no small consequence — the advantage of long and close intimacy with the great Pastor who had been left behind, to qualify him above all others for this service in the things of God and the soul.

Brewster was never set apart to the ministry by the laying on of hands, and he remained an elder to the end.

Not having been ordained, he refused to administer the sacraments. Evidently he was urged to do this, and questioned in his own mind whether he might not do it, and then justify the action by the circumstances in which the little church was placed.

Never
ordained

When, as at Leyden, the church had a regular pastor, they had had the Lord's Supper every Sunday. Baptism, too, was administered as often as there was occasion. It is no wonder there was a craving for these ordinances. The elder turned to the wise and beloved man of God who was back in Holland. Robinson frankly gave his judgment against administering the sacraments by an unordained man. Brewster acquiesced; and the little church had to be content with such forms and measures of ministry as were deemed competent to elders. He taught and exhorted, he labored in word and doctrine, and he gave full proof of his ministry; but he refused to go beyond these offices and distribute the elements at the communion table, or to apply water in baptism. It is doubtful if some of our modern laymen, who, without much fitness for the office, or much persuasion to enter it, make bold to teach in sacred things, would have shown themselves either so modest or so scrupulous. It is not to be doubted that the church might have authorized their thoroughly competent elder to administer the sacraments. But the Pilgrims were a people on whom the eyes of the world looked with anything but sympathy, and wisdom toward those who were without required that they walk with the utmost circumspection. This they did in faith and patience for ten long years.

Splendid testimonies, borne by his associates, to the value of Brewster's ministrations are on record. "He taught twice every Sabbath." Neither the pressure of business nor home delights and duties; neither weariness of body caused by hard daily toil nor exhaustion of time and strength in other forms of religious activity, had led these simple souls to think that they might wisely give up their second service. They had no regularly qualified minister, but they maintained

Splendid
testimo-
nies to
Brewster's
ministry

their two services. Bradford says of the teaching which the good elder gave them "twice every Sabbath" that it was both powerful and profitable, and that it was likewise "to the great contentment of the hearers and their comfortable edification." "In prayer, both public and private, he was singularly gifted in laying open the heart and conscience before God, in the humble confession of sin," and in "begging the mercies of God in Christ for pardon."

IV

The Bible used in the homes and in the pulpit was the Geneva Bible, though the King James Version was most likely in the hands of some of the colonists; **The Bible used** for both versions, so far as expense was concerned, were within reach of the people. But the Geneva Bible, in view of its origin and associations, would appeal to the Pilgrims with a peculiar force. For it was a translation of the Holy Scriptures into English which was made by the able, devout, and conscientious Christian scholars who had been driven from their native land to Geneva during the merciless reign of "Bloody Mary." When the Bible was read in public service the reading was accompanied with running comments. To read the Scriptures without expounding them was regarded as "dumb reading." The hymn book in the hands of the Pilgrims was Ainsworth's Psalms. It is not likely that the words were obscured by artistic singing.

V

In the spring of 1624, the long cherished desire of the church for a resident pastor seemed about to be realized. The same ship which brought letters from **A minister in prospect** Robinson to Bradford and Brewster — the last ever received from him by any member of the colony, and in one of which he declared the improbability, owing to conspiracies against him

among the Adventurers, of his ever coming to them — brought also Rev. John Lyford. Reading between the lines in a paragraph about him in an epistle sent by Cushman, it is easy to see that he and Winslow, who was then in England, were not oversanguine in their estimates of his worth, or how he would turn out. Their minds would have been filled with something more positive than misgivings had they known the man's history and character. "The preacher we have sent is, we hope, an honest, plain man, though none of the most earnest and rare. About choosing him into office use your own liberty and discretion; he knows he is no officer amongst you, though perhaps custom and universality may make him forget himself. Mr. Winslow and myself gave way to his going, to give content to some here; and we see no hurt in it, but only his great charge of children."

The latent distrust of this communication was justified a hundredfold. The man proved to be an unmitigated rascal. His record was unsavory. His duplicity knew no bounds. His hypocrisy was monumental. He could lie and repent, and then lie and repent again, with all the facility with which a skilled artillerist can load and fire a gatling gun. He was humble on occasion, but his humility was of the obtrusive, sickening sort. Bradford's account of his deferential attitude towards the members of the colony, — an account written many years after the exposure of the fellow's contemptible meanness and duplicity — shows what a cringing, fawning, slimy creature he was. "When this man first came ashore, he saluted them with that reverence and humility as is seldom to be seen, and indeed made them ashamed, he so bowed and cringed unto them, and would have kissed their hands, if they would have suffered him; yea, he wept and shed tears, blessing God that had brought him to see their faces; and admiring the things they had done in their wants, and so forth, as if he had been made all of love, and the humblest person in the world." He was allowed to preach. At his own request he was received into the church. He got no further. For very soon he became a mischief-maker.

Lyford a
bad man

Lyford found a kindred spirit in John Oldam. This Oldam was one of those who had come to Plymouth, not as a member of the colony, but on his own individual account. "He had been a chief stickler in the former faction among the particulars, and an intelligencer to those in England." But, as the ship which brought Lyford also brought supplies, the outlook was changed. Oldam was forward with confessions of his evil ways, with regrets for the harm he had done, and with profuse promises of amendment and cooperation in the future. He was taken at his word and even invited into the counsels of the colony. He was the kind of leopard, however, that does not change his spots. He was without a drop of honest blood in his veins. He may have had twinges of conscience, and a momentary purpose to do better; but, if so, he soon lapsed back and was up to his elbows in his old tricks. There was no soundness in him.

VI

It was not long before these two precious scamps had entered into a deliberate plot to revolutionize the little independent church and overturn the little republican state, and wreck the whole undertaking of the Pilgrims.

Conspiracy of Lyford and Oldam This, by the way, is the open secret of the presence of Lyford in the colony. It will be recalled that in the last letters written by Robinson to his friends at Plymouth, intimation was given of an intention on the part of some of the Adventurers to prevent his going to America. It will be recalled, too, that Cushman in his letter spoke of the pressure brought to bear on him and Winslow to permit the going over of Lyford. The scheme was to set up an episcopacy in the church and check the tendency to democracy in the state. Precisely this is what the two conspirators attempted. By misrepresentation, by bald lying, by audacious effrontery, by stirring up the spirit of faction, by treachery amounting to treason, they sought to accomplish their unholy ends.

But it takes a very shrewd man to be as shrewd in villainy as an honest man can be in honesty. What seem to be wolves in sheep's clothing often turn out to be only stupid asses. The leaders of this sorely tried colony were not the kind of "elect" who were easily deceived. The cunning and malicious schemes of these two men were speedily discovered. In the exercise of his authority and the discharge of his duty as a magistrate, Bradford went aboard the ship which was to carry the mail to England, intercepted and opened the letters — about twenty of them — which Lyford had written to his fellow conspirators at home, took copies of some and retained the originals of others, and at the proper psychological moment, when things had "ripened," and the men had begun to put their plot in execution, confronted them in open meeting with the evidence of their duplicity and treachery. Few of Oldam's letters were found, for he was a bad "scribe" — "yet he was as deep in the mischief as the other." For "amongst the rest they found a letter of one of their confederates in which was written that Mr. Oldam and Mr. Lyford intended a reformation in Church and Commonwealth," and that, as soon as practicable after the ship had sailed, they were to launch their project. This they did. This is what Bradford meant by letting things "ripen." But the schemers were detected, and their schemes came to naught. The harm they would have done was averted; and, in due time, to the satisfaction of all save themselves, the plotters were shown the open door to other parts of the land. In view of the aggravating features of the case, the forbearance of the Pilgrims was wonderful. For, while Oldam was compelled by sentence of the court to go at once, his wife and family were permitted to remain all winter, or until he could make proper provision for them; and Lyford was allowed to stay in the place for six months. The seeds of mischief, however, which the two men sowed, though they sprouted, never yielded the full crop of evil which the sowers anticipated.

Lyford preached to a few who hovered around the colony, and who had been disaffected towards it by his insinuations and opposition; and his preaching met with

little response. The members of the church, as has been said, were eager for an ordained minister — a minister who could discharge all the duties of the office; but they were spared the humiliation and disaster of seeing their pastorate filled by an ordained renegade. So the clean and faithful Brewster, who “would never be persuaded to take higher office upon him” than that of elder, had to keep steadily on his way “in dispensing the Word of God” to the little flock.

An impressive illustration of the esteem in which Elder Brewster was held, and of the blessing which followed his endeavors to win men to the faith, is found in the renewal of religious interest and the accessions to membership in the church, right after these perplexing and disheartening experiences with Lyford. “Many who before stood something off from the Church — now tendered themselves to the Church and joined it.” “And so these troubles produced a quite contrary effect in sundry here than these adversaries hoped for; which was looked at as a great work of God, to draw on men by unlikely means.”

Following this experience with Lyford, there was another disappointment in store for the Pilgrim church. Allerton, acting on his own responsibility, when he returned from one of his business trips to London, in 1628, brought back with him a young minister by the name of Rogers. Little is known, and little needs to be known of him. It was at once discovered, so Bradford says, “upon some trial, that he was crazed in his brain.” This ended the experiment with this new candidate for their pulpit; and, as soon as they might, the Pilgrims sent the unfortunate man back to his native land.

Allerton was blamed, as no doubt he should have been, for involving the colony in the expense of bringing this man over, and shipping him back again. Why he did it has been thought a mystery. It hardly needs to have been. Four years, or a little more it may be, before this, Allerton had married Fear, a daughter of Brewster. He was nat-

urally interested in the welfare and comfort of the good elder. Brewster wished very much to have a regularly ordained minister come to his relief. Only such a minister, in his own estimation and the estimation of Robinson, could properly administer the ordinances. The son-in-law knew this; coming across a young man who had been ordained, and who was foot loose, and not stopping to make the necessary inquiries about him, he took it upon himself to bring him over. The intent was kindly, but disaster followed. The collapse of the young minister was sad and utter.

But why call this man "pastor"? He was no more pastor of the church at Plymouth than a man would be pastor of the Union Park Church, in Chicago, or the Old South Church, in Boston, who at a time when the pulpit might chance to be vacant, should be brought forward and introduced by some leading member, and given a trial for a single Sunday, and then sent on his way again because found unsuited to the place. Lyford was never "pastor" of the church. Neither was Rogers ever "pastor" of the church. Yet, lying right here before me, is a statement from the pen of one of our accepted writers on the history of these old colonial days in which it is affirmed that "Lyford, their first pastor, was deposed for immorality; Rogers, their second, ceased to serve because 'crazed in the brain.'" It is time that misrepresentations like these, which are sometimes caught up and repeated by men of wide intelligence and national reputation, should cease; and that our writers and speakers should stop calling such a scoundrel as Lyford, and such an unfortunate wreck as Rogers, "first pastor" and "second pastor" of the Pilgrim church.

In the midsummer of 1629, by a singular combination of circumstances, Rev. Ralph Smith, a regularly ordained minister, and a man of character, found his way to Plymouth. He had a wife and children. He seems to have been a member of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. At the time of his appearance on the scene he was living with a little struggling group of settlers at Nantasket. Through the

happy chance of a boat from Plymouth landing at Nantasket, he found his way to the Pilgrims. The men who brought him "had no order for any such thing;" but, "seeing him to be a grave man," and learning that "he had been a minister," they presumed to take him aboard their little craft and bring him to the colony. He received a kindly welcome; was housed amongst them; and very soon began to "exercise his gifts" in their rude pulpit. The result was that he was chosen to be the minister of the church.

Smith was the first regularly ordained and settled pastor of the first church at Plymouth. He was evidently a good man. Inasmuch as he was authorized by ordination in due form to administer the sacraments, this people had a long deferred opportunity to sit once more at the communion table, and to have their children baptized.

This, in their estimation, was a great and precious privilege; and one cannot help thinking of the well-nigh rapturous joy with which these plain men and women in the wilderness, for the first time after so many years, pressed the symbols of the dying love of our Lord to their lips.

The pastorate of Smith lasted only a little more than six years. For though he was a good man, he was neither very able nor very popular. At the conclusion of his account of things in 1636, Bradford says: "This year Mr. Smith laid down his place of ministry, partly by his own willingness, as thinking it too heavy a burden; and partly at the desire and by the persuasion of others."

Shortly after the close of his pastorate, Smith had an experience which in part, it may be, justifies the statement just made that he was not a man of much ability. In 1636, the somewhat erratic and troublesome Samuel Gorton came with his wife from London by way of Salem to Plymouth. The two boarded at Smith's. Gorton evidently took his turn in leading the family devotions. It was not long before the ex-pastor's wife was ready to say, and perhaps a

bit too forward to say, that she thought the prayers of Gorton were better than those of her husband. The remark was neither to edification nor harmony. Smith could not stand a comparison so humiliating, and he straightway ordered the gifted brother out of the house. The man of superior unction in prayer refused to go; and it was not until the aggrieved minister took the matter into court that Gorton quit.

VIII

One of the most interesting facts for which Smith's ministry in the Old Colony is to be remembered is that Roger

**Roger
Williams
at Ply-
mouth**

Williams was associated with him for a time in his work. Williams came to Massachusetts in the early months of 1631. Soon after landing at the Bay he was asked to supply the pulpit of the Boston church during the absence in England of its pastor, Rev. John Wilson.

He made conditions so exacting and illiberal towards the Church of England that the members of the Boston church were unwilling, as they ought to have been, to accede to them, and Williams left and went to Salem. Here he precipitated another controversy over the charter under which the colony was settled. The people became alarmed for the existence of their government. Williams relieved the situation once more by withdrawing from Salem and going to Plymouth. Here he spent nearly two years. He held extreme opinions on three points; the need of absolute separation from the Church of England, the renunciation of the authority of magistrates in church matters, and baptism by immersion as the only Scriptural mode of administering the rite. His opinions were shared only by a few; and he asked for letters back to the Salem church. Discussion arose. Feelings were excited. At length the church followed the advice of Elder Brewster, and the dismission sought was granted. The ground of the elder's advice was that if Williams remained with them he would "cause divisions."

Bradford fully appreciated the many excellent qualities in Williams. He called him "a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgment." "His teaching" was "well approved, for the benefit whereof I still bless God." The simple fact is that it took Roger Williams a good while to get his bearings.

The Pilgrims were a great deal more tolerant towards him than he was towards them. While he was still struggling with the alphabet of toleration, these simple people at Plymouth appear to have been well schooled in the subject. It is not improbable that he got his first lesson in toleration at the feet of the Pilgrims. At any rate, it is well that the world has consented to forget what he stood for at the outset of his career, and to remember only what he came to represent later in his life.

IX

The church had the usual experience of churches in general in securing a successor to Mr. Smith. Winslow was abroad on business, and though the pulpit was not actually vacant when he left, coming events cast their shadows before, and he was charged with the duty of looking up a new minister. He found a man, Glover by name, whom he took to be a suitable person for the Plymouth church. Glover consented to come; but, according to the account given by Bradford, "when he was prepared for the voyage, he fell sick of a fever and died." This Glover must not be confounded with the other Glover, whose name is associated with the setting up of the first printing-press in America, and who, sailing with his wife for Boston in 1638, died at sea.

Another promising candidate was found in Mr. John Norton. He listened to the overtures made to him, and was willing to come; but he would not agree to accept a call until he had arrived and looked the situation over. He came and preached for a while, and soon won the appro-

bation of the people. Meantime he received an invitation to go to Ipswich, "where," as Bradford says in a not altogether disguised tone of criticism, "there were many rich and able men, and sundry of his acquaintances;" and he chose to settle in that town. In virtue of the mention of his name by Cotton, of Boston, when on his death-bed, as a most desirable man to follow him, he became the successor of that eminent preacher.

"Having been often disappointed in their hopes and desires," at length "it pleased the Lord to send them an able and godly man" in the person of John Rayner. He was "of a meek and humble spirit, sound in the truth, and every way un-reproachable in his life and conversation."

He had the advantage, too, of a thorough college training, as he was a graduate of Magdalen College, at Cambridge, England. Rayner's ministry continued until 1654, or eighteen years in all. It was marked by unanimity in the church, much fruitfulness, and great comfort to the people. One of the successes of this pastorate, and a way-mark in the history of the Plymouth church, was the erection of the first meeting-house built by the people. This house was put up in 1648. Up to this time worship had been conducted in the fort. Thacher says that the new building "was furnished with a bell." Goodwin says there was no bell until 1679. Perhaps all that Thacher means is that there was a belfry, or a place to hang a bell when they got one. This is likely.

Rayner went from Plymouth to Dover, New Hampshire, where he was settled, and where he continued to preach until his death in 1669. He made full proof of his ministry and is worthy to be commemorated.

X

There was an episode of great interest in connection with this last pastorate. As Smith had his Roger Williams, so Rayner had his Charles Chauncey. The Plymouth men

were sound in the faith and strict in their living. At the same time they were tolerant. If there was anybody with crotchets in his head, or who had opinions slightly off color which he wished to air, he was more likely, in those early days at any rate, to get a patient hearing at Plymouth than in any other of the colonies. The headway he could make with his crotchets and opinions is another thing.

Charles Chauncey was a man of much more than average ability; and he had the best intellectual training which the Cambridge of England could give to her pupils in those days. But while acquiring the learning, he caught the spirit of that famous seat of bold thinking and plain speaking. Having opinions and convictions, he was true to them; and his attitude on the practical questions of the time very soon brought him under the displeasure of Laud. The only way to escape the requirements and the wrath of the archbishop was to abandon his pulpit in the Established Church and flee to the New World. Shortly after his arrival in this country, the Plymouth people invited him to become associated with their pastor, who had then been their minister for two years, in a joint occupancy of the pulpit. He accepted and filled this position for three years. During that period we may be sure the Pilgrims had some great preaching.

Nevertheless, it was not all smooth sailing. Storms gathered and the sea was rough. Chauncey, like Williams, became a thorough-going immersionist, and insisted that plunging is the only Scriptural mode of performing the rite of baptism. He also held that the only proper time to observe the communion is in the evening. In these views he carried only a small section of the church with him. Great patience was exercised towards him. Neighboring ministers were called in to meet him in argument. Written opinions from the ablest men in the other colonies were procured and submitted to his consideration, but his position remained unaltered. His merits were so many that the people were loath to part with him. But he insisted on going unless the

church would fall in with his ways. The alternative was offered him of remaining and baptizing in his own method as many as wished to be baptized after this fashion, and administering the communion by candle-light to all who preferred this time for partaking of the Lord's Supper. It was no use. He still insisted that the church must adopt his views, or he would withdraw. The result was that he left and went to Scituate. Here he carried out his views, but he split the church. The seceders formed another organization, and, after a considerable period of waiting, found a pastor and settled him. It only remains to add that Chauncey succeeded Dunster, and became the second president of Harvard College.

One cannot help wondering at the singular fortune of a little straggling church like that of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, which, in the second decade of its existence, should have had, in its pulpit service, two men of such eminent ability and worth that one of them became the founder of a state, and the other the president of an institution of learning destined to be an ornament to a great nation and an important factor in the progress of learning and civilization throughout the world.

XI

Following the dismissal of Rayner, there was a period of at least two years in which the church had no pastor.

A minister There was preaching, but no settled and permanent occupant of the pulpit. Elder Thomas Cushman, who succeeded Elder Brewster, did good service, no doubt, in expounding the Word. But after years of waiting, the man for the place was found; and John Cotton, Jr., a son of the famous divine of the Bay colony, stepped into the place made vacant by the going of the beloved and able Rayner.

John Cotton was a man of exceptional efficiency. He inherited no small measure of the ability of his father; and his mind was trained by early and thorough application to

study. He graduated from Harvard at the age of sixteen, or, possibly, seventeen. He had a remarkably retentive memory; and was especially strong in his knowledge of the Bible. He could preach to the Indians in their own tongue. He loved the work of the ministry, and gave himself without reserve to the duties of his calling. He had preached in various places in Connecticut, and elsewhere, for about ten years, when he began his work at Plymouth; and it was two years after he entered on his ministry in this latter place before he was installed. So soon, however, as he was duly settled in this pastorate, which was in 1669, he took up his duties with system and vigor.

To begin with, he started out on a thorough canvass of the spiritual condition of the entire community. In this effort he seems to have had the hearty co-operation of Mr. Thomas Cushman, who was then a ruling elder in the church. "The Ruling Elder," so the fact is stated, "with the pastor, made it their first special work to pass through the whole town, from family to family, to inquire into the state of souls." It is further said that "he was very desirous of the conversion of souls." Do not these two facts — the spirit and aim of the man, and his method of going about his work — let us into the secret of the marked success of Cotton in his Plymouth ministry? At the beginning of his pastorate there were forty-seven resident members of the church. The first year of his work saw twenty-seven added to the roll of full communicants. The next year fourteen; the next seventeen; and the next six. The record for his thirty years of toil was one hundred and seventy-eight. For a small church, in a small community, with families constantly moving into other sections of the country, that is an exceedingly gratifying showing. It can do no harm to venture the suggestion that there may be lessons in this exhibit for our modern times.

Loving his people with all his heart, and loved by them with a tender and reverent affection, yet at the end of thirty years a difference arose between them over the insignificant question of the right steps to be taken in getting into the

pastorate of a church. In 1694 Mr. Isaac Cushman was asked to become the religious teacher of the church in what is now Plympton. He accepted the invitation.

**Resigna-
tion of
Cotton** Cotton "strenuously contended that Mr. Cushman ought not to settle before being designated to the office of ruling elder by the Church."

The controversy raged for three years. The mutual alienation was aggravated by importing into it some apparently groundless scandals in which the good pastor was said to be involved. The result was resignation and the end of a pastorate which had been of great service to the church and town. The retired pastor, after having left the pulpit, lingered in Plymouth for a year or so; and it is refreshing to record that all differences between him and the church were made up, and the old relations of affection and esteem were restored. Cotton at the end of a little more than a twelvemonth, left Plymouth and went to Charleston, South Carolina. Here he gathered a church, repeated his early successes, and in about a year passed on to his great reward. He was a man of God, honored and beloved, and very serviceable in his day. It is greatly to the credit of his former parishioners in the Old Colony that they erected a stone in their burial ground to his memory, and placed upon it an inscription expressive of their appreciation.

The ministry of Cotton, it will be seen, takes the history of the Plymouth church on beyond the year 1692, when the Old Colony was merged in the Bay colony, and the twain became the future magnificent commonwealth of Massachusetts.

XII

There are not a few incidents of peculiar interest in connection with the history of the church of the colonists.

**Incidents
of interest** In his journal Governor Winthrop describes a visit he made to Plymouth, in which we get somewhat more than a glimpse of the way in which their religious meetings were sometimes, if not

always, conducted by the Pilgrims. It was in 1632, or during the time when Roger Williams was residing at Plymouth and assisting Pastor Smith in his Winthrop's ministry. The governor, Rev. Mr. Wilson, visit to and two others, supposed to be Endicott and Plymouth Underhill, made a visit to the Old Colony.

The party went a portion of the way by boat and the remaining distance on foot. Somehow apprised of their coming, Bradford, Brewster, and others went forth at eventide to meet the distinguished guests. They were taken to the governor's house; and at his house and other houses they were kindly entertained and feasted every day.

"On the Lord's Day," so the narrative continues, "was a sacrament, which they did partake in; and in the afternoon Mr. Roger Williams, according to their custom, propounded a question, to which their pastor, Mr. Smith, spoke briefly. Mr. Williams prophesied," or discussed, as we should say, "the topic he had submitted; and after, the Governor of Plymouth spoke to the question; after him, the Elder; then some two or three more of the congregation. Then the Elder desired the Governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of the contribution, upon which the Governor and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat and put into the bag, and then returned."

Does it not go without saying that a body of people who had the great facts and the inspiring truths of the Scriptures on which to exercise their minds, and whose methods of considering topics were such as are here described, and who were trained by all the experiences of life to a free expression of their opinions, were not entirely without the means of intellectual as well as spiritual quickening? We often speak of the lives of the first settlers in our New England wilderness as dull and narrow; and it is certainly true that their opportunities for culture were narrow; but, for all this, they did some high thinking.

Under Cotton's leadership prayer and conference meetings came to have a place in church life and activity. So far as appears, up to the time of his pastorate, all the

Sp
leading?

general religious exercises of the Pilgrims were held on Sunday. Cotton induced the church to begin holding meetings for religious conference on a week-day.

Prayer and conference meetings started These conferences were held monthly, on Saturday afternoon, preceding the communion. This practise was continued for years. At a later time, under the pastorate of Cotton's successor, Rev. Ephraim Little, it was decided to

broaden out this plan, and start neighborhood meetings in different parts of the town, "for family and other spiritual exercises." In those old days there was much praying as well as preaching; and the people sought to grow in grace and knowledge.

XIII

Meantime other questions, more perplexing even than securing suitable pastors when the pulpit was vacant, had arisen, and other trials had come upon the brave little church. Growth and prosperity brought satisfaction; but they also brought embarrassment. Almost before these forefathers of ours knew it, they had two perplexing problems on their hands — the problem of what Dr. Dawson has called "the deadening influence of suburbanism," and the problem of "Church-Extension." Instead of remaining together in the bonds of a fellowship which had been cemented by so many common experiences of hopes realized and hopes deferred, of joy and sorrow and bitterest heartaches, it seemed to be the intent of Providence that they should be separated and distributed in different directions. The lands in other localities were more fertile and inviting than most of those in the immediate neighborhood of the original settlement. As population increased and resources multiplied, larger fields and pastures were needed, better houses and barns, more promising chances for the investment of labor and skill, and a freer sweep in general. These people were English, be it remembered, and, like their kindred of to-day, they wanted

fresh air and plenty of elbow-room. Bradford did his best to keep the colony unbroken; and strong measures were adopted and strong influences exerted to this end. It was in vain. Expansion was in the air. From the outset this has been one of the difficulties here in America — things grow so fast that it is hard work to keep up with the demands which growth creates. The colony was growing, but it was growing like a tree — not at the center, but at the circumference.

The first serious break came in the removal of a comparatively large number of important men to what came to be known as Duxbury. This was in 1632.

Removals to Duxbury Four years earlier some of the colonists had begun to feel their way into the occupancy of that region. Among the number who went at the date just named were Elder Brewster and

his two sons, Jonathan and Love. The father, however, did not wholly retire from Plymouth, but spent a portion of his time there; and there, as the later writers concede, he died. Standish, likewise, and Alden, Sampson, Bassett, Soule, Collier, Mitchell, and others of their strong and enterprising men, joined in this colonization of the new town. The removal of so many of this type of citizens at so nearly the same time left a disheartening gap in the Plymouth settlement. But to the end of time "Captain's Hill" will share in the renown of the "Rock," and devout souls will feel that the "Nook" is sacred soil because it was once trodden by the feet of Brewster.

Quick on this dispersion there came another. Marshfield, beautiful for situation and rich in agricultural promise, sprang into an independent community.

Marshfield The loss to Plymouth, by this change of residence, will be appreciated when it is said that Winslow was the leader in the movement. The more one studies the Pilgrims the higher will be the esteem felt for the ability and character of this rare man. The removal of Winslow took along with him, of course, his stepson, Peregrine White, "the first English child born in New England." Three of his brothers also became residents of Marshfield.

From Rly.
to Dux-
bury
(Captain's
Hill ")

x

x

Bay colony, it must be conceded that not a few of the ministers who filled the pulpits of the Pilgrim towns were men of exceptional abilities and high character. They had practical sense; they were scholars; they were alive to the demands of the hour; they were devoted to their work; and they were open-eyed to the future of their great venture in civil and ecclesiastical democracy.

The names of some of these, like Rayner and Cotton of Plymouth, Chauncey, who in the course of his career on this side of the water was of Plymouth, Scituate, and Cambridge, Treat of Eastham, who did such a worthy and successful work among the Indians, have already been before us; and others will be in other connections. It seems fit, however, to note more specifically two or three men who were prominent in the Old Colony pulpits, and whose services were of marked value.

Ralph Partridge, who was settled over the Duxbury church in 1637, and who held his place till his death, twenty-one years later, was a leader whose abilities were widely recognized. He was driven out of England by Laud, and he never forgot the ideas for which he stood and for which he had suffered. He was associated with John Cotton and Richard Mather in drawing up the Cambridge Platform.

A successor of Partridge, though the second from him in the line of succession, was Ichabod Wiswell. He was born at Dorchester, in the Bay colony. Another has described him as "a man of learning, power, and sincerity." He was all this and more. He was intensely patriotic, and as dauntless as a lion. It was Wiswell who was a thorn in the side of Andros, when he was the agent of a bigoted and tyrannical king, in his efforts to reduce the colonists to a complete subjection, and who defiantly endured the pain and humiliation which he had to suffer in consequence. It was Wiswell who was sent over to England, in 1691, to make protest against the merging of the Plymouth colony in the Bay colony. He failed in his purpose, as was well; but it shows the standing of the man, and the esteem in which he was held, that he was chosen for this important service.

It is an interesting fact that two men who were associated with the church at Taunton, the one as pastor and the other as teacher, should have been associated, though in the reverse order, with Davenport's church, — the First Church of Christ, or as it is more popularly known, the "Old Center Church," in New Haven. William Hooke, supposed to be an Oxford graduate, was the first pastor of the church at Taunton. He had for his associate Nicholas Street, who is also supposed to have been graduated from Oxford. Hooke left Taunton and went to New Haven and allied himself with Davenport. Street succeeded to the office of pastor. Hooke was a relative of Cromwell; and when things grew hot in England, he left New Haven and went back to his native land to be near to the great leader of the Revolution. Street succeeded him again. He resigned at Taunton, and accepted a call to the office of teacher in the New Haven church. When Davenport went to Boston, Street became pastor, and in that office he continued until he died. He was thus thought worthy to be a link in the chain of succession which was to begin with John Davenport, and include the illustrious names of Taylor and Bacon. Dr. Bacon says of him: "He appears to have been a pious, judicious, modest man." He says further, that his writings "show great clearness of thought, and some pungency of style." "That he was no inferior preacher," he continues, "may be inferred from the fact that he was found worthy to succeed Mr. Hooke, and that he maintained his standing as the colleague of Mr. Davenport."

Besides these who have had special mention, there were others in the colony who deserve to be kept in remembrance, both for what they were and for what they did. Lothrop, of Barnstable, was a man of clear brain, deep convictions, and eminent usefulness; Newman, of Rehoboth, while vigorously pushing the interests of the town, and making full proof of his ministry, found time to revise and reissue his "Cambridge Concordance." Samuel Lee, of Bristol, was a somewhat eccentric character;

but he had the power of a positive personality. Keith, of Bridgewater, did good service, and left behind him a fragrant memory. There came a time in the history of the Plymouth colony when the tides of religion were at ebb; but there never came a time when the Pilgrim churches did not have a less or larger number of men in their pulpits who, in virtue of their ability, their attainments, and their character, were fitted to do good work for the Master.

The mother church, as we have seen, remained at Plymouth, and was more prosperous in the last thirty years of the century than it had been in the preceding fifty years. This church has had other severe trials in the course of its history; and it has known what it is to be turned and overturned; but, a vine of the Lord's planting and the Pilgrim's watering, it still lives and witnesses to the truth at Plymouth Rock.

XVI

SETTING UP SCHOOLS

12

Viewed from any angle, ignorance is the costliest crop that can be raised in any part of this Union. . . . The public school is not merely the educational center for the mass of our people, but is the factory of American citizenship. — THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

America in the making was intelligent, moral, religious, and religiously devoted to the education of children. — WHITELAW REID.

Our public school system is unquestionably the most distinctively American institution which this country has produced; and since that great civil contest between the two civilizations of the North and the South was settled by the war of secession, this system has been growing to a greater and greater importance. — WILLIAM A. MOWRY.

As an innovation upon all preexisting policy and usage, the establishment of free schools was the boldest ever promulgated since the commencement of this Christian era. As a theory, it could have been refuted and silenced by a more formidable array of arguments and experience than was ever marshaled against any other opinion of human origin. But time has ratified its soundness. The centuries now proclaim it to be as wise as it was courageous, as beneficent as it was disinterested. — HORACE MANN.

One of the most memorable events in the history of the Commonwealth is the establishment, for the first time in the world, of free public schools supported by a general tax. The early colonists seemed to have an intuitive idea that a free state and free public schools hold the relation of dependence on each other. They had no sooner come to the land which they had chosen for their new home, and had provided for their immediate physical wants, and had erected their simple places of worship, than they established schools for the free education of all the children. — J. W. DICKINSON.

Not only the success of our democracy, but the skill, thrift, fortunes, thinking, and happiness of the people, and therefore the moral greatness of the Nation, depend upon providing a school for every child and making sure that he goes to it. — ANDREW S. DRAPER.

We should ever promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge; for it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened. — GEORGE WASHINGTON.

XVI

SETTING UP SCHOOLS

IN turning to the attitude of the Pilgrims towards schools we must be prepared for a double surprise — first, that so much was really done, and second, that so little was said about it in the records of the time. Neither in their laws, nor annals, nor incidental narratives of the early years at Plymouth do schools cut any considerable figure. It was to be expected that in the first stages of the settlement of the colony but little attention could be given to the subject of education. The fight was for bread and a secure foothold. At no time, however, was education neglected. From the outset “the hearts of the fathers were turned to the children.”

I

In his “History” Bradford makes no mention of the training of the young until the year 1624, save that he names the proper training of them as one of the reasons for leaving Leyden. In his chapter for the year just indicated he replied to a criticism which had been made on the colony. The criticism was to the effect that the children of the Pilgrims were neither taught to read, nor to recite the catechism. Our author declares that the report was not true. On the contrary he asserts that “divers take pains with their own as they can; indeed, we have no common school for want of a fit person, or hitherto means to maintain one; though we desire now to begin.”

Here, were both the germ and the prophecy of what was to be — schools for all the children and all the children in the schools.

Concerning the training of children in those first years at Plymouth two facts are to be kept in mind.

The first is that there were not many children to be trained. Of the twelve children brought to Plymouth by the *Mayflower* only seven survived the fatal sickness of the first winter.

How many children were included in the families of the Leyden church which came over in the *Fortune* in 1621; or in the *Anne* and *Little James* in 1623; or in the *Mayflower* in 1629; or in the *Handmaid* in 1630, does not appear from any statements now at hand. There were some, but not many. Nor was the increase of children from births very rapid during the first few years. There were children enough to have called for a school had there been any teacher available, or money to meet the expenses; but the numbers were not large.

The second fact to be kept in mind is that the Pilgrims had had a first-class experience in family training. They

had lived for twelve years in Holland. There were schools; but the teaching was in a foreign tongue. Especially solicitous for the welfare of their children, and eager to hold them

in loyalty to the speech, and customs of the dear land from which they had been driven, it was only natural that exiles should turn every home into a schoolhouse and make the education of their offspring an important part of their domestic economy. When these people set up their homes in the wilderness, they were not only alive to the necessity and value of a proper training for those who were to come after them, but they were in some ways peculiarly fitted for the task. Men of the intelligence and character of Bradford, Brewster, Winslow, and Fuller were sufficient pledge that the youth of their little community would not be permitted to grow up in ignorance, even though the time had not yet come for starting a common school. Besides, men of the second generation, like William Bradford, Jr., Josiah Winslow, Thomas Cushman, and others, who, as

Davis says, "were reared under parental education alone," show how wise and thorough the training must have been.

These two facts shed not a little light on the situation. There were no schools at first, not alone because there was no teacher, and no money to support a school, but because the need was not pressing. Imparting knowledge to the young, training them into habits of thoughtfulness, impressing them with a sense of the worth of industry and virtue, were fundamental to the ideas of the Pilgrims, and a part of the vital breath of their domestic, religious, and civic systems.

II

It is evident that the hope expressed by the governor when he wrote, as in a preceding paragraph, that there was no common school in Plymouth, but threw out the intimation that there would be such a school in no long time, was realized very soon. For incidental references make it clear that schoolmasters were abroad at an early date.

In the footnote found in his "History of New England," Dr. Palfrey says that an ancestress of his, who was a daughter of John Howland and Elizabeth Tilley, and hence one of the first generation of children born to the Pilgrims on these shores, "signed her name in her old age, as administratrix of her husband's estate in an almost clerkly hand." Somebody was doing some satisfactory teaching. Either the professional instructor of youth had appeared and set up in business, or family instruction was all that has just been claimed for it. But there is a more convincing proof of the existence of the school. In 1635, a boy, eight years of age, by the name of Eaton, was apprenticed to Bridget Fuller under terms which required her "to keep him at school two years." This implies schools in full operation. It is possible, of course, that all which is meant by it is that the lad was to have the benefit of family training, after some regular sort, for the period named; but this is not likely. The stipulation looks to the existence of a school to which the boy might go and be taught. In the first class which gradu-

ated from Harvard in 1642, Plymouth had a representative. In the class of 1650 there was another graduate from the Old Colony. Unquestionably these young men must have been fitted for college, in part at least, by private tuition. Such incidents, however, show the estimate placed by the Pilgrims on learning, and the atmosphere of eager desire for learning which pervaded the community. With the Bible what it was to them, and with a Bible in all probability in every home — for neither the King James Version nor the Geneva Version, the one they would be most likely to use, was at that time so expensive as to be out of the reach of the people in general — it might go almost without saying that these devout and earnest men, who had crossed the seas in order that they might build their church, and conduct their homes and their state on the principles of the Word of God, would see to it that their children were sufficiently instructed to read its sacred pages for themselves.

III

It was forty years after the landing at Plymouth before positive enactments on the subject of education began to appear on the statute books. In 1663 vigorous steps seem to have been taken. Towns — not only Plymouth but other towns which had grown out of the original settlement, like Duxbury, Marshfield, and the rest of them — were required by the court, the law-making body, to take into serious consideration the matter of securing schoolmasters, “to train up children to reading and writing.” Nothing beyond a wholesome agitation of the question came of this move. But all the while the subject of schools was in the air. Four or five years after the above action by the court, one John Morton, a nephew of the Nathaniel Morton who was so long secretary of the colony, came forward and “offered to teach children and youth of the town to read and write and cast accounts, on reasonable considerations.” This offer was not accepted at once; but in 1671 the town fell in with the proposition and the school was started.

Meantime, in 1670, very important legislation had been enacted. The court made a grant of all the profits annually accruing to the colony "for fishing with nets or seines at Cape Cod for mackerel, bass, or herrings, to be improved for and towards a free school in some town in this jurisdiction, provided a beginning was made within one year of the grant." This income fell to the mother town and went to the support of the school with which Morton was identified. Later, in 1672, additional support was given to the school. The town voted unanimously to devote the profits of "their lands at Sipican and Agawam and places adjacent" towards the maintenance of "a free school now begun or erected at Plymouth." These lands were to be "improved and employed" for this purpose; and the funds derived from them were to be set apart and sacredly devoted to the support of learning.

This school was to be a classical as well as an elementary school. Up to this time the course of study had been more closely confined to the rudiments. Owing to differences of opinion among the people as to the value to them in their circumstances and stage of development of classical learning, this school in its advanced form had its ups and downs. The free features of it, however, had a secure place in the common confidence; and, at the beginning of the succeeding century, the free school became an accepted and abiding policy of the new community.

IV

The claim has been made that the Old Colony is entitled to the honor of having set up "the first free school ordained by law in New England." Thacher, in his *History of Plymouth*, makes this assertion. Davis, in his *Ancient Landmarks*, reaffirms the statement. The claim is based on the establishment of the school just mentioned. The claim will hardly hold.

About the middle of the last decade a committee was ap-

pointed by the proper authorities in Massachusetts to ascertain along with one other object which was specified, the exact locality of "the first free public school" in the commonwealth. This action was taken with a view to marking the site, if found, with a suitable monument. One who has any familiarity with the early history of the old Bay State will readily understand that there must have been many contestants for this signal honor. Boston, Charlestown, Salem, Dorchester, Newbury, Ipswich, Duxbury, and other towns, as well as Plymouth, would be sure to put in their proofs of priority in a competition so commendable. Naturally one would think that the search for a fact like this might have been rewarded with success. It was not.

The committee felt obliged to report that the place, where "the first free public school supported by general taxation was started, could not be satisfactorily determined. The trouble in settling the question grows out of the fact that many of the earliest town records are lost, while those which have been preserved are often so meager and uncertain as to be of little or no value in helping to trustworthy conclusions." It is very clear that the honor does not belong to Plymouth. It is equally clear that Plymouth was in line with other towns — with other and very much larger and wealthier towns in the Bay colony — in making provisions for free public schools.

V

It is a matter of small concern, however, whether the system of free schools, such as we have come to know it in the United States, originated in one colony or another, or in one town or another. It was a magnificent achievement. There is "glory enough in it to go round" and afford to each an abundant share. Both these colonies and all these towns took advance ground. Made up largely of the "common people," they came easily and quickly into the apprehension and under the

domination of ideas on education which no English cabinet has been able even yet to reach. No human eye can penetrate the future, and forecast what changes in opinions and methods the unfolding years may disclose; but, from present points of view, it is difficult to anticipate an age when the free schools, which were established by the Pilgrims in the Old Colony and by the Puritans in the Bay colony, will not continue to be one of the chief distinctions of the commonwealth of Massachusetts and of our great republic.

"From the cold northern pine,
Far toward the burning line,
Spreads the luxuriant vine
Bending with fruit."

XVII

DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR LAWS

In that land the great experiment was to be made, by civilized man, of the attempt to construct society upon a new basis; and it was there, for the first time, that theories hitherto unknown, or deemed impracticable, were to exhibit a spectacle for which the world had not been prepared by the history of the past. — ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE.

The English Colonies, having been founded as private enterprises, some of them under the protection of Royal Charters, were freer than those of Spain, Portugal, and France, to work out, amidst their novel environments, an original system of government, and to form distinct social habits and customs; and therefore, though moulded on ancestral models, they were not direct reflections of European originals. — JAMES DOUGLAS.

Their government was not like the Constitution under which our nation now lives, moulded and shaped and perfect as a whole. It was evolved from a simple germ, demanding and receiving new treatment as it grew, and finding in the practical hands of its projectors a ready application of remedies for defects, of measures for the removal of obstacles, of new laws for new requirements, and new officers for new labors and duties.

WILLIAM T. DAVIS.

He who believes that the early legislation of New England was distinguished, in its time, by the severity of its penalties, knows little of the history of Criminal laws in Great Britain or America.

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

XVII

DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR LAWS

WE have seen on what foundation the civil government of the Pilgrims was erected. It was on the basis of equal rights and common duties. No man might claim privileges which were denied to other men; nor shrink from meeting obligations which rested on all alike. In the compact which had been adopted, King James was recognized as sovereign; and by implication, if not by definite avowal, the laws of England were regarded as of binding force. As a matter of fact, however, the colony, while acknowledging the sovereignty of the king, was yet a sovereignty in itself. As the great author of "Democracy in America" says: "They exercised the rights of sovereignty; they named their magistrates, concluded peace or declared war, made police regulations, and enacted laws as if their allegiance was due only to God." It was a democratic sovereignty, and its affairs were managed after a democratic fashion. These plain Englishmen made and administered their own laws. Questions of public concern were discussed and settled in popular assemblies. Power was lodged in the people. Governors ruled by consent of the governed. It was for the body politic to determine who should be magistrates, and what should be the measure of authority wielded by them, and how long they should hold office.

I

At the outset everything was simple. The government was run with the least possible machinery. That great achievement and instrument of justice — trial by jury — was recognized and set up. With no lawyers, and not much

law, and few cases to be tried, juries for a long time were little other than boards of arbitration. There was a governor, and, until 1624, only a single assistant; though at this date the number was increased to five, and at a later date to seven. The head of the little state could give advice, look after the general interests, execute orders, and assume responsibility in emergencies; but he was servant and not master. This was all these chief officials aspired to be — servants and not masters. On occasion, when distinguished visitors were to be received, or Indian chiefs and their braves were to be impressed, the airs of royalty were sometimes assumed and the formalities of state were observed by these chosen leaders. In general there was no official pomp, no pride of position, no theatrical displays of the badges of a little brief authority, and no noise in the administration of law. Attempts in this direction would have been ludicrous; but there was no disposition to strut and parade. The men at the top wrought on equal terms with the men at the bottom. Whether, without exception, they all prayed for their daily bread we may not know, but they all toiled for it. The first governor of the colony was stricken with his fatal illness while engaged in planting his fields. Under God, the state stood for equal rights, for order and justice and safety on the simplest terms and in the simplest way, and for nothing else.

II

For a decade and a half the Plymouth colonists had no fundamental law except the compact which had been drawn up and signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower*. Indeed, the colony never had any other fundamental law. In this instrument there were two guiding principles, and only two — allegiance to the king and the right of the majority to rule. The latter principle held in it all sorts of possibilities for democracy, and very distinct prophecies of what was to be in the future. From the day of its adoption by the Pilgrims until now it has

Revision
and
codification
of laws
needed

not lost any of its vital force. It has gained rather in the confidence of mankind. The corner-stone of their little republic, it is the corner-stone of our great republic, the republic which has come to be the mightiest and happiest nation on earth.

But something beyond this was found to be necessary. For though the compact had been adopted, and it had been determined that equality of rights should be the controlling factor in their legislation, the form of government, the number and duties of officials, the limitations of authority, courts and juries, police and military regulations, the applicability of English statutes to themselves, and other details of administration, were matters still to be worked out and settled.

In an important passage bearing on this point, Baylies, in his "History of New Plymouth," says: "No laws were

The facts
set forth

made for the general organization of the government; the limits of political rights and political powers were not defined; the governors and assistants maintained their small portion of authority rather by common consent than by lawful delegation of power. The royal authority was recognized, and the laws of England were considered as having force in the colony, unless altered or repealed by colonial statutes; but it was very difficult to ascertain the character, authority, and force of those laws." The same author goes on to say: "Crimes and punishments were neither declared nor defined. . . . The only magistrates were the governors and assistants. The office of justice of the peace was unknown. Trials were had in the general court before juries selected from the whole body of the freemen of the colony; and until 1634 the Governor and assistants were not by law considered a judicial court. The magistrates had no jurisdiction of civil actions, and in criminal offenses their jurisdiction was confined to the power of 'binding over' the accused to appear at the general court."

To illustrate the condition of things here portrayed, it may be said that there were no laws on the statute books covering the mutual relations and obligations of husbands

and wives, of parents and children, of masters and servants. There were no laws touching the probate of wills and the administration of estates, save that the governor and his assistants were authorized to discharge these functions. There were few, if any, applicable to the many questions likely to arise in the contact of the colonists with the Indians. They had policies in regard to the wise way of dealing with the Indians, but their policies were not yet defined in laws. There were laws declaring every person within the jurisdiction liable to the performance of military duty. There were enactments concerning fishing, hunting, damages committed by domestic animals, and setting fires in the woods. There were other legal regulations, though for the most part these were only temporary expedients or devices. For fifteen years the statute books of the Plymouth colony were exceedingly bare of the traces of legislation.

How then were rights secured, order maintained, and progress registered? The answer is at hand. The deep and pervading sense of equality, the general respect for what was fair and right, the laws of the fatherland so far as they could be adapted to the needs of a people in circumstances so unlike those of the people for whom they were originally intended, and the fine spirit and purpose of the members of it, kept the colony on right lines and moving straight forward to its high destiny. The state was sovereign; it exercised sovereign powers; still it had only a few laws. Order was maintained, justice was administered, the general welfare was promoted, and a large measure of happiness was secured; but it was all on the basis of democratic equality. Nor is this all that is to be said. These achievements and these results had been brought to pass, not in virtue of a complete system of laws, but after a kind of opportunist fashion. It was a day-by-day proceeding, a political living from hand to mouth, meeting each exigency as it arose. It helps to show with how few laws good people can get on. It also helps to show that even good people, placed in a world like ours, and having their own human nature to contend with, sooner

or later discover that a well-defined, well-ordered, and well-equipped government is essential to peace and prosperity.

III

In 1636, a signal advance was made by the colonists in the adoption of a definite system of laws. As has been said, the compact drawn up and signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower* was the fundamental law of the new state. In their legislation the Pilgrims were guided by the conception of equal rights and common duties announced in this great instrument. They also found warrant and direction for their enactments in the patent which had been granted to them in 1621 through John Pierce by the company that was charged with the affairs of New England. So, too, they were helped in knowing what they might and might not do by the patent issued to William Bradford in 1629. But their laws, as there has been occasion to say already, were largely temporary expedients. They were framed and passed to meet the exigency of the hour. It was only natural, therefore, at the end of this period of fifteen years, for the leaders to feel that the time had come for a thorough examination and complete overhauling of their statutes. It appears from the record that on the assembling of the general court in 1636 the laws of the colony were read. Since there were not many of these laws it would not take long to go over them. On listening to them, it was found that "divers of them were worthy the reforming, others the rejecting, and others fit to be instituted and made." Thereupon, a committee of eight, from the three towns of Plymouth, Duxbury, and Scituate, was appointed to cooperate with the governor and his assistants in revising existing statutes and proposing such others as seemed to be necessary. From this time on the Pilgrims had a consistent body of laws — a code. This code was the deliberate and authoritative expression of their ideas of the way in which justice was to be administered and order in the community best pro-

moted. Laws are photographs, not of ideal, but of the actual conditions of a people at the time they are passed. Examining these laws to-day, we see in them the spirit of the men who made them; the evils which they encountered; the tendencies they dreaded; the conception of right-dealing between man and man which they entertained; the measure of restraint which they thought ought to be thrown about wrong-doing, and the kind and degree of encouragement which they deemed it wise to extend to industry and thrift, to honest and earnest living.

IV

Associated with the adoption of this code of laws there was an avowal of rights made by these sturdy democratic legislators well worthy of reverent study by their descendants. In this avowal there is a note which sounds strangely familiar when we get down to later times and are listening to the speeches of Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry, and reading the resolves of continental congresses and the Declaration of Independence. It is a surprising document, calm, measured, but bold to the point of audacity. Gathered together from different clauses of the enactment, condensed and modernized by the author of the "History of New Plymouth" already quoted, but given with accuracy, this is the courageous avowal of principle and purpose: "We the associates of New Plymouth, coming hither as the freeborn subjects of the State of England, and endowed with all and singular the privileges belonging to such, being assembled do ordain that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance be made or imposed upon us at the present or to come, but such as shall be made and imposed by consent of the body of associates or their representatives legally assembled, which is according to the liberties of the State of England."

Here were insight and courage of the first order — insight to perceive their rights and courage to state them in terms not to be misunderstood. Give time for the idea,

so clearly discerned and so unequivocally announced, to take root, and add the fertilization of harsh treatment, and how surely will this assertion of rights grow into Insight and the further assertion of independence! What courage a service it was to the world — first of all to draw up the Mayflower Compact and make it the basis of the civil polity of a state, and then to supplement this action, so soon as there was occasion for it, with a resolution in which the principles of the compact were not only reaffirmed but made aggressive! What are a few eccentricities in legislation, or even a few grave mistakes in determining what are crimes, and adjusting penalties, in comparison with the calm and resolute announcement of political conceptions so fundamental and far-reaching!

V

What were these laws — or rather what were some of the more characteristic of them? It will help us to a better understanding of the Pilgrims, and enable us to see how far they had cut loose from old traditions, and how far they were still under bondage to the temper and usages of their times, if we tarry at this point long enough to answer the question here propounded. It will help us also to this same better understanding of the Pilgrims, if, in connection with our examination of some of the laws of this code, we cast an eye forward and look at some of their subsequent legislation.

We have already seen how much in advance of their age the Pilgrims were in their conception of the fundamental principles on which a state should be organized, and of the measure of equal rights which should enter into the policies and laws of a just commonwealth. Were they as much in advance of their age in their actual legislation as they were in their conception of fundamental principles and equal rights? Did their practise keep in close touch with their theories? In other words, were their ideas of government found to be workable, and did they try to work them?

In estimating the civilization reached by peoples or periods it is important to consider them from many points of view. But if it is necessary to confine the study to a single point, then the treatment accorded to crimes will be found to be one of the most illuminating. What do they count crimes, and how do they deal with them? Looking at the Pilgrims in this light, it will be found that in penal legislation they were just as much in advance of the prevailing practises of the day as they were in their theories. In the revised statutes, of 1636, there were only six crimes which were punishable by death. These were treason, murder, witchcraft, arson, rape, and crimes against nature. Baylies seems to say that there were only five capital offences under the laws of the Pilgrims; and Goodwin follows him in naming this number, though later on in his book he enumerates the full list of a half-dozen. But even were he not to do so, the crime for which one of the ten persons who were convicted and executed by the Plymouth colonists within the seventy years of their independent existence, makes it clear that the number was six.

Whether five or six, however, the humanity which limited the list of the capital offenses to this small number becomes amazing as well as gratifying when a few comparisons are made. At the time the Pilgrims left Scrooby, the English law-books enumerated thirty-one crimes for which a man might be deprived of his life. For more than two centuries the brutality steadily increased. In 1819, incredible as it may appear, there were two hundred and twenty-three offenses which, in the judgments of British parliaments, might be suitably punished by death. In their first codes, Massachusetts and Connecticut each had twelve capital offenses. At a later date, in both colonies two were added to the lists. New Haven had about the same number. Virginia named seventeen. J. Hammond Trumbull, who took pains to look up the records of state trials, has said: "In the reform of penal legislation New England was at least a century in advance of the mother country." True, and true with emphasis. But at what a marked

distance was the older colony at Plymouth in advance of her younger and more vigorous sister colonies at Boston and Hartford and New Haven! As we have seen, the laws of the Pilgrims provided for punishment by death in six cases. The administration was milder than the code. Punishments took place under only two specifications. There were no convictions for either treason, or witchcraft, or arson, or assaults on virtue. William Penn was in advance of them all; for, in the code which he drew up and gave to his colony, murder was the only crime for which the penalty was to be life for life. But Penn was a proprietary governor, and could impose his will — albeit one of the best instructed and most benevolent wills ever exercised by the leader of a people, upon those whom he had gathered about him, while the Pilgrims were a pure democracy in which every man had an unquestioned right to utter his opinions. It is in this light that their humanity is so remarkable. It was the popular voice.

VI

There were other forms of punishment for infraction of law and disorderly conduct, which, though falling short of taking life, were yet harsh. Some of these Other punishments, while quite in line with the custom of the times, were quite out of line with the kindly disposition and advanced views of the Pilgrims in matters of penal legislation and practise.

For especially exasperating offenders they had the stocks and the whipping-post. In extreme cases — like those of Billington, who refused to obey orders and became abusive of Standish; and Dotey and Lister, who shocked the whole community by fighting a duel — they had the cruel device of tying the head and feet of culprits together and exposing them to the public gaze. Billington does not seem to have been cured of his viciousness by this painful and humiliating treatment; but Dotey and Lister fought no more duels, and they had no successors in this barbarous

method of vindicating wounded honor. Sometimes, as in the instance of the widow of Billington, the penalty inflicted was the threefold one of a fine, the stocks, and a public whipping. The slander of a good man by a woman whose husband had been hung for murder, and whose standing among her associates had never been high, seemed to the authorities of the colony an offense which called for exemplary punishment. Often condemned offenders escaped the stocks or the whipping-post by paying or providing for the payment of a fine. Those whose head and feet were tied together were hardly ever forced to serve out their full sentence.

Other laws were framed which grate unpleasantly on modern feelings. In 1668 an act was passed authorizing imprisonment for debt. Efforts had evidently been made by somebody to escape meeting just demands by fraud or cheating, and this was an attempt to head off such schemes. The Plymouth colonists would have been the last men in the world to confine a debtor in jail when he had nothing with which to meet his obligations. It was for this reason that, at a much earlier date than the foregoing enactment, a severe penalty was affixed to the crime of forging deeds to lands. This was a heavy fine; but "in case of inability to pay the fine whipping and burning an F in the face was substituted." The "Scarlet Letter" was likewise authorized when occasion seemed to call for it. No instances of the execution of these penalties by the Plymouth people have fallen under notice in books read, or records examined. But the leaders always stood in great horror of both dishonesty and licentiousness.

Time and experience, aided by much sober reflection, and by increased facilities for housing and holding persons charged with crimes and misdemeanors, moderated the cruelty of these laws and brought in a more rational and humane method of restraining vice and chastising wrongdoers. All traces of barbarism faded from their statute-books.

Concerning laws other than those which had to do with crime and vice which were enacted by the Plymouth colonists, all it is necessary to say is that they followed Eng-

lish precedents, so far as conditions permitted. Only these laws from first to last kept the fundamental principle of equal rights steadily in view, and through and through were informed with the spirit of the great compact. Beginning in a church, the state was never allowed to forget God. Its policies were framed, its actions were shaped, its life was guided after the pattern of what was conceived to be a high type of practical righteousness. The Pilgrims sought to make their laws spell exact justice and a fair chance for all, and they largely succeeded in what they sought. It would be difficult to find in all history a people who on the whole can better afford to be judged by what is on their statute books than the Pilgrims.

VII

Here it is necessary to retrace our steps for a little that we may deal with another phase of the political life of the Plymouth colony. In 1638 an important change was made in the form of government. It was a change from a pure to a representative democracy. So long as the colony was small and confined to a limited area, it was possible for all the voters to assemble in one place and do their business. With expansion this ceased to be practicable. It is true there were only three incorporated towns — Plymouth, Duxbury, and Scituate — within the jurisdiction of the colony when the new plan was adopted; but other towns were in sight and fast approaching. When the first representative assembly met in 1639, or at any rate before the session closed, four new towns — Taunton, Sandwich, Yarmouth, and Barnstable — had perfected their organization and become duly incorporated. Marshfield was to fall in line and enter the fellowship within a year. Each town was to have two representatives, or deputies as they called them, except Plymouth, which was allowed to have four.

This miniature congress was composed of two branches.

The governor and his seven assistants constituted one branch, while the town deputies made up the other. Both branches sat and acted together. The governor presided. This form of legislative assembly continued to be the practise so long as the colony had a separate existence. The assembly was called, not a legislature, but a general court — the name which to this day clings to the law-making body of Massachusetts. Deputies to the general court were paid, not from a general fund, but by the towns which sent them. Under this arrangement the towns would be likely to see to it that the sessions of the legislature were not unduly prolonged. The salary was fixed at two shillings and sixpence a day. This was another salutary check on long sessions. For in those days the best men, the most far-sighted and prominent men, were generally chosen to office; and while they were ready to make sacrifices for the public good, they would not be likely to neglect their own affairs for the pay they were getting in the public service.

VIII

Though they yielded to practical necessity and changed the form of government from a pure to a representative democracy, the Pilgrims were exceedingly jealous of their civil rights and were careful to throw every possible safeguard about them. Hence, it was provided that, except in cases of evident emergency, proposals for enactment into laws should lie over for one year. There could be no "snap" legislation, and no "omnibus bills," adroitly concealing all sorts of schemes and jobs, and brought in at the last moment and hurried through under suspension of the rules, to vex and humiliate the people. Even when a law had been passed there was a court of appeal to which it might be taken, and not only negatived but actually repealed.

For in addition to this legislative assembly there was a popular assembly of the freemen of the colony in which

final authority was lodged. This was called the "Court of Election." The governor, the assistants, the treasurer, and, after the act of confederation, the colonial commissioners, were elected by this assembly.

People retain veto power In this respect, the change to a representative government made no difference. The governor and assistants had always been chosen by popular vote. At the outset, in the Bay colony the people elected the assistants, the assistants appointed the governor, and the governor and assistants made the laws. After no long time this plan was given up, and the people chose the executive officers. In Plymouth things started in this way. The people ruled. This assembly of freemen, moreover, had power to repeal any law which the general court had passed. Under God, and against all claims of superiority by anybody, the rights of the people were held to be sacred and supreme.

IX

Frequent references have been made in this narrative to freemen, and the rights and duties of freemen. Who then were freemen, and how did men become freemen?

Freemen At the outset, those who signed the compact in the *Mayflower* were freemen. Subsequently men were made freemen by a majority vote of those who were already freemen. But, beginning in 1656, and making modifications from time to time for a dozen years or more, the legislative body added greatly to the strictness of the conditions on which one might join the ranks of freemen. A man had to have local indorsement, or the approval of the particular town in which he resided, before he could be advanced to this high privilege.

X

At the end of the period just indicated, however, and as the result of more than a decade of discussion and experience, it was settled that, in order to exercise the rights and enjoy the advantages of a freeman, one "must be

twenty-one years of age, of sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion, and possessed of twenty pounds of ratable estate in the Colony." In addition to this, by a law dating back to 1636, every freeman had to take an oath to be loyal to the king and to all the interests of their little state. Citizenship was made to stand for thoughtfulness, thrift, character. One of the severe punishments inflicted on a man for misbehavior was disfranchisement. Voting was held to be both a duty and a dignity. Like filling an office, it was invested with a large measure of sacredness.

By these stringent regulations some men were excluded from the rights and privileges of the elective franchise who ought not to have been excluded. Religious tests are not good; but moral tests are good. A jealous guardianship of the ballot-box is wise. It would be vastly better for our republic if good men were compelled to vote, and bad men were excluded from the polls.

This is not all. The Pilgrims not only safeguarded the elective franchise by making the voting standard high, but they emphasized their sense of the importance of civic interests and the faithful discharge of civic duties, by making the failure to vote on the part of those to whom the privilege belonged an offense punishable by fine. A fine of three shillings was imposed on freemen for failing to attend the general court when state officials were to be chosen. Inasmuch as "age, disability of body, and other inconveniences" might hinder the attendance of some who were worthy citizens and had a right to vote, an act was passed permitting voting by proxy. Admission to the lists of freemen was so carefully guarded that there was little danger of the abuse of the privilege. It would, however, work strange confusion and be the source of boundless corruption if adopted in these times. This idea, that all who had the right to vote should discharge the duties implied in the right, was carried so far, that, in 1646, it was enacted that towns neglecting to send deputies to the general court should be fined two pounds.

Penalties
for failing
to vote

XI

It is not apparent from the record whether the Old Colony in its independent colonial days was afflicted with any considerable number of office-seekers — **Fines for refusing to hold office** though it would be very strange if there were not some; but it is evident that it was not always easy to get the best men to assume the responsibilities and bear the burdens of public officials. As early as 1632, a man elected to the office of governor and declining to serve was made liable to a fine of twenty pounds. The penalty for refusing to serve as assistant was ten pounds. One elected to the office of a selectman of the town must discharge the duties of the position or pay a penalty. We have just seen that towns neglecting to send deputies to the general court were subject to fines. So persons chosen by any town to the office of deputy, and neglecting, without adequate reason, to appear and discharge the duties of the office were mulcted in the sum of twenty shillings.

All this reads strangely in our day — strangely indeed, when we recall how many men there are who are willing to pay fabulous amounts to secure an office; and how many men there are, too, who are so intent on voting that they are ready to go the rounds of the polling-places at every election! But it is more than likely that, if, in the very region which was hallowed by the tread of the Pilgrims, an effort were made to get all the good men to vote when there are elections, and all the best men to consent to fill offices of public trust whenever their fellow citizens might deem it wise to designate them for these places, the result would be a fresh demonstration of the difficulty of keeping the public spirit in any community up to a high level, and inducing the most efficient and worthy members of the community to forego their own ease and gain for the general welfare.

In subsequent chapters there will be occasion to notice other statutes which were passed by the Pilgrims, as well as an opportunity to make further study of the spirit and

purpose of these people as reflected in their legislation. Enough has been said to show the general trend of their thought and at what they aimed in enacting and administering their laws. They sought to realize order, purity, and justice. They wanted their little state to stand for the utmost freedom to do right, and for the greatest possible hindrance to doing wrong. They made an honest attempt to articulate the will of God in their rules and regulations, and to order all their affairs in a way to meet the divine approbation.

XII

It needs to be steadily borne in mind, however, that the laws of the Pilgrims were growths. They had a few fundamental principles; but they had no ready-made system of statutes. Their legislation followed their needs and was designed to meet the exigencies of the hour. Their laws are the way-marks of their progress, and show how the little state suited itself to new times and conditions. The advance was sometimes slow; and sometimes it was by leaps and bounds. At length, as we have seen, they had their code, their full equipment of officials with well-defined powers and duties, and policies and plans to match the situation. Starting with the idea of loyalty to God, and building on the foundation of equal rights, they watched events and did their best to make a model state.

XVIII

WITCHES AND QUAKERS

For many centuries it was universally believed, that the continued existence of witchcraft formed an integral part of the teaching of the Church, and that the persecution that raged through Europe was supported by the whole stress of her infallibility. . . . On this ground the Reformers had no conflict with their opponents. The credulity which Luther manifested on all matters connected with diabolical intervention was amazing even for his age; and, when speaking of witchcraft, his language was emphatic and unhesitating. 'I would have no compassion on these witches,' he exclaimed, 'I would burn them all.' — W. E. H. LECKY.

The founders of new sects, and their earliest disciples, whose tone of thought is in a habitual state of passionate elevation, and whose aims and objects are usually idealized by the glowing atmosphere of an ardent imagination, are not infrequently characterized by a zeal highly disproportioned to the wisdom which is necessary to regulate and control the same.

JOHN STETSON BARRY.

Let us remember —
That unto all men Charity is due;
Give what we ask; and pity, while we blame,
Lest we become copartners in the shame,
Lest we condemn, and yet ourselves partake,
And persecute the dead for conscience' sake.

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

XVIII

WITCHES AND QUAKERS

IN the course of the years the Pilgrims were forced into many trying situations. They had to encounter a large number of difficult and delicate questions. Their good sense and their humanity were often put to the test; and the strain upon their wisdom was sometimes intense. Amongst the most perplexing of their problems was how to deal with witches and Quakers. Both of these problems were upon them. They had made witchcraft a crime punishable with death. Quakerism had suddenly appeared to annoy and derange. What should be done with Quakers? They realized at the time how much the peace and harmony of the colony depended on the wisdom with which these troublesome issues should be met. They could not have realized how seriously a few mistakes made by overzeal in warding off the harm threatened by these subtle foes of order — as they regarded them — would mar their fame in years to come.

I

At the date of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, as earlier and later, belief in witchcraft was well-nigh universal. In Italy and the German states, **Belief in** in Switzerland, Sweden, Scotland, and Eng-
witchcraft land, the authorities were busy burning witches.
universal Catholics and Protestants, men eminent for learning and of exalted position, as well as the ignorant and lowly, were alike involved in the fatal delusion. Persons suspected of this "craft, invented by the devil" were subjected to the most horrible tortures to induce them to confess. If they confessed that they were in league

with the powers of darkness, they sometimes escaped, though more frequently confession was considered enough, and the poor creatures were hurried away to slaughter. If they did not confess, this was taken to be sufficient evidence of guilt and their condemnation and execution followed. Trumbull quotes this statement from Mackey's "Popular Delusions": "During the whole of James' reign, amid the civil wars of his successors, the sway of the long parliament, and the reign of Charles II, there was no abatement of the persecution." Inside of the hundred years before the Pilgrims left Scrooby, "Continental Europe sacrificed one hundred thousand lives on this ground." A thousand a year, for a whole century, laid on the altar of this strange and horrible delusion!

At the very time when the Pilgrims were framing their laws, England and Scotland were burning and hanging witches. The sickening business was kept up in Great Britain until more than a hundred years after the Plymouth settlement was begun, and there was an execution in Germany as late as the French Revolution. In a charge made to a jury when two women were on trial for witchcraft, Sir Matthew Hale said that "he did not in the least doubt there were witches." A century later Lord Mansfield, though liberal, if not in his politics, yet in his religious views, held to the same opinion. Palfrey well says: "It was not to be expected of the Colonists of New England that they should be first to see through a delusion which had befooled the whole civilized world and the greatest and most knowing persons in it." The marvel is that the colonists were so little affected by the raging distemper.

As has been stated, witchcraft was made one of the six capital crimes named in the Plymouth laws of 1636. In this respect, it is worth while to remember, the colony was not unlike the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Manhattan, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. But it was conspicuously unlike some — not all — but some of the others in two particulars — a remarkable scarcity of witches within its bounds, and a decided indisposition on the part of the authorities to convict persons charged with this crime.

II

From first to last there were only two cases brought to trial. One of these occurred in 1661. A woman in Scituate, by the name of Sylvester, affirmed that another woman, by the name of Holmes, had become a witch. She had seen her talking with the devil in the form of a wild animal. The accuser was prosecuted for slander, and found guilty, and in way of amends for the wrong done she had not only to pay costs, but to confess that she had lied. The second case occurred six years later in the same town. A Mrs. Ingham was charged with bewitching Mehitabel Woodworth. Trial followed. The woman was acquitted. In the single trial for witchcraft which took place in Pennsylvania, and which was nearly twenty years after these two trials at Plymouth, the jury brought in this verdict: "The prisoner is guilty of the common fame of being a witch, but not guilty as she stands indicted." It was in this spirit that the Pilgrims had given their decisions.

Thus the Pilgrims, having fallen in with the delusion of their age in expressing their belief in witchcraft and making it a capital offense in their laws, escaped the reproach of after years by refusing to credit the "vulgar tales" and "diseased imaginations" of a couple of indiscreet and unscrupulous gossips. No judicial murders of this sort are to be laid to their charge. The two trials just in mind were after his day, but it is a remarkable fact, noted by Goodwin, that Bradford nowhere refers to witchcraft. It had but small place in the thought of the Plymouth colonists.

III

Amongst the most intelligent, industrious, orderly, self-controlled, philanthropic, and in every way exemplary people in our modern time are the Friends. It seems in-

credible that there should ever have been anybody identified with them in their faith and habits who was not kindly disposed, peaceable, discreet in conduct, and, while
Trouble firm in opinion, conciliatory in manner. George
with the Fox, the son of a weaver, and the apprentice
Quakers of a shoemaker, had a message to the world.

When this message is interpreted to us through the career and services of Penn, or the sweet and consecrated life of Woolman, memorable for his "Journal," or the brain and heart and spotless character of Whittier, we bow and gratefully acknowledge its genuineness and power.

But in the ranks of the earlier followers of the founder of the Society of Friends there were not a few who suggest present-day adherents of the organization only by contrast. The great poet just named, who is held in honor by all and tenderly loved both for his poetry and his manhood, has said that "the extravagance of some of the early Quakers has been grossly exaggerated." No doubt. But even he, though charging it to "persecution and the denial of the rights of conscience and worship," freely admits "that many of them manifested a good deal of wild enthusiasm." This "wild enthusiasm," however, is but a tame expression of the facts. They were fanatical, turbulent, often indecent; and the inward voice which spoke to them became in too many instances, as they gave it articulation, a boisterous demonstration of harsh and bitter words.

IV

The Pilgrims were naturally alarmed at the approach of these intruders. They had sought peace and they wanted to live in peace. At great cost of time and labor
Why they had cleared their lands, built their homes,
alarmed set up their institutions, and formulated their policies; and they did not see why they should be disturbed. If these apostles of a new faith had come to seek shelter from oppression, to cast in their lot with them

and be loyal citizens of their little state, or even to talk over in a calm and rational way the great questions which were agitating their minds, they would have had a hearty welcome, no doubt, and an equal chance with those who had come before to work out their destiny. But to come as prophets of the Lord without any distinct credentials in their message, or in their conduct, to show that they had been sent of the Lord, was another thing. The colonists dreaded confusion and overturning. They had had experience of Lyford and his mischievous intrigues; and of Gorton with what another had termed his "riotous and turbulent conduct;" and they had no relish for further troubles of this sort. Precisely this is the reason alleged in defense of their legislation against the Quakers. From all they could learn of them, their "doctrines and practises manifestly tended to the subversion of the fundamentals of the Christian religion, church order and the civil peace of the government." Apprehensions like these gave to the outlook a serious aspect, and whether well founded or not, prudent men entertaining them could hardly have been expected to stand by and do nothing. This does not justify a harsh and blind intolerance. It does not defend the wisdom of some of the measures taken by the colony against the vexation and harm threatened by the presence of these zealots. But the attitude assumed by them goes far towards throwing the complainants out of court.

V

The first law enacted against the Quakers in Plymouth was in 1657. This law, like the more severe one which followed it, was not a direct but an indirect blow at the offenders. It was an act forbidding the bringing of Quakers into the colony by anybody on pain of a fine of twenty shillings a week for every week the prohibited person remained within the jurisdiction of the colony.

It deserves to be remembered, not in justification of the Pilgrims, but in mitigation of a harsh judgment of them,

that they were "put up" to this action by the Bay people. It was "the godly care and zeal of the gentlemen of Massachusetts," not only for a revival of religious interests and the reinforcement of a declining ministry in the Plymouth colony, but for the barring out and extermination of "such pests" as were now coming in upon them in the guise of these "ranters," which led to these enactments.

These are the circumstances. A year before the passage of the law just mentioned, the general court of the Bay colony sent a communication to the commissioners of the four colonies which had become confederated, in which they were informed of the arrival at Boston of "several persons professing themselves Quakers," whom they regarded as "fit instruments to propagate the kingdom of Satan." This communication was sent to the commissioners to induce them in their official capacity to recommend to the general courts of each of the colonies the adoption of "some general rules," to prevent the coming in amongst them of these "notorious heretics." The commissioners fell in with the suggestion and definitely proposed "to the several General Courts that all Quakers, ranters, and other notorious heretics be prohibited coming into the United Colonies." It was further urged that if these proscribed parties should "hereafter come or rise among them," they should be "forthwith secured and removed out of all jurisdictions." This session of the commissioners was held at Plymouth, and the action was no doubt taken with the special intent of influencing the general court of the Plymouth colony.

This first law, which was passed under the inspiration and urging just indicated, did not prove so effective as was thought desirable. A subsequent law was therefore enacted with added prohibitions and increased penalties. It was made a crime, not only to bring Quakers into the colony, but knowingly to harbor them after they had come. The fine for this offense was five pounds or a whipping. In 1658 a law was passed disfranchising Quakers. Moreover, as they

were wandering up and down the land without any lawful calling, a house of correction was built, in which, under charge of vagabondage, they might be locked up and set to work. Executive officers were authorized "to seize all books and writings in which the doctrines and creeds of the Quakers were contained." There was no abatement of the disorder. These drastic remedies did not cure the disease.

VI

Instead of halting in their course and giving the subject the benefit of a sober second thought, the authorities pushed straight on and added measure to measure, each succeeding one having in it a little sharper sting of reproach and carrying a little heavier burden of penalty than the preceding one, until in 1659 the court decreed that in certain contingencies of persistent disobedience to laws which had been passed the offenders should be put to death. Thus the Pilgrims fell into line with the sentiment and practise in the mother country, in the Bay colony, in New York and Virginia, and undertook to extinguish fanaticism by adding fuel to the flames. Governor Arnold, of Rhode Island, said of these mad enthusiasts that "they delight to be persecuted by the civil power." Severity is lost on such people.

VII

The intrusion of the Quakers upon the Pilgrims began in 1657. In the course of that year Nicholas Upsall, Humphrey Norton and John Rouse visited Plymouth, began their agitation, and brought the question of what to do with them to a square issue. Upsall arrived first, and in no long time was taken back to Rhode Island whence he came. Norton next appeared on the scene. He was accorded the same treatment and promptly bundled over

the border into the more hospitable realm of Roger Williams.

Norton, however, unlike Upsall, seems either to have renewed his zeal, or nursed his wrath, or both; for the next year found him back among the Pilgrims and ready to do battle for his cause. Rouse was with him. The two were a valiant pair, and not without ability of a certain sort as well as the courage of their convictions. They were arrested, put on trial, and condemned to be publicly whipped.

The trial had some amusing as well as some aggravating turns. The prisoners at the bar were shrewd and audacious; and the contempt they felt for the court was not left to be laboriously inferred. One of the little franknesses in which Norton frequently indulged while undergoing examination was to say to the governor: "Thou lyest." He openly charged this high official with being a "malicious man," and having "a clamorous tongue," and he more than intimated that he used this unruly member like "a scolding woman." Hard pressed, the defendants fell back on their rights as Englishmen and denied the jurisdiction of the court. In this claim, the two disturbers of the peace overreached themselves and the authorities were quick to take advantage of the situation. If Englishmen, they might be required to take the oath of loyalty to England. This duty was pressed upon them. They refused either to take the oath or make affirmation. On the ground of this refusal, so it appears, the men were convicted and forced to submit to the public whipping previously mentioned. They left the colony and gave it no more trouble by their personal presence.

The two having departed from Plymouth under a compulsion which they felt bound to respect, it occurred to Norton that there was a way still open to him by which he might effectually torment his persecutors. He would entertain them with an exhilarating dose of absent treatment. He acted on this suggestion and wrote back two letters, one to Governor Prence and the other to Alden. For sharpness, these

letters would have done credit to Junius, and for impatient and spiteful vituperation they would have given points to Caliban. This was the end of vexation from Norton.

VIII

Undeterred by the treatment measured out to the apostles of this new faith, other disciples of Fox followed those already named in a missionary invasion of the Old Colony. Two men, by the name of Braind and Copeland, felt called to deliver a message to the Pilgrims in 1658. Their stay in the community was short; for they insulted the magistrates, and were straightway ordered out of the jurisdiction of the government. They obeyed; but inside of a week they were back again — only to be whipped and sent off once more. Two others, Leddra and Pierson, tried to convince the colonists of the error of their ways. They were locked up and kept in jail till they were ready to cry quits. Wenlock Christison, a zealous advocate of the inner light, evidently had a good deal of the spirit and pluck of Norton. He came; but was persuaded to retire. He came a second time; and it was not long before he was dealing out his judgments right and left. He was taken in hand and punished with the painful and humiliating device of "head and heels."

The next year there was a band of six persons who came to Plymouth. These were headed by Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick. They had been driven away from the Bay colony, and had sought, not a refuge, but a sphere in which to bear testimony within the domain of the Pilgrims.

They were given four weeks in which to pick up and be off. If they did not comply with the order, they were reminded that by a recent act of the law-making power the penalty of death might be inflicted upon them. It was no longer the jail, the whipping-post, and the "head and heels" which these wild enthusiasts had to fear, but death. To this sad pass had the business come.

One of the names about which sad memories gather in connection with the fanaticism and folly of those old days is

2nd. Brahmin

1st. Brahmin

Mary Dyer. She found her way to Plymouth the same year in which the Southwicks and their four associates made their appearance in the place. She was

Mary restored to her husband in Rhode Island.
Dyer Thomas Greenleaf, who had brought her, was forced to pay the costs. Later, both Mrs.

Dyer and Leddra — two of those whose names appear in the narrative — were “hanged from the great elm on Boston Common.”

IX

It is an intense satisfaction to add that, while the Plymouth people were unduly alarmed, and unwise and unjust in their treatment of a few propagandists who

No Quaker had zeal not according to knowledge, they never
put to reached the fatal point of judicially dismissing
death a Quaker into the next world. Smarting under the contempt which these evangelists of the

inner light threw upon their officials and laws, naturally sharing the fear of the time as to the effect which such teaching and conduct would have upon their religious and civil institutions, and exasperated into a legislative threat of death to these men and women if nothing short of this would arrest them in their career of disturbance, they yet stopped short of the extremity of hanging. They whipped and tortured and ostracized them; but they did not take life. No blood of a martyr for opinion's sake, nor for unwise devotion to religious conviction, stains Plymouth Rock.

X

The madness and folly could not last always. They were suddenly arrested. For once, the interposition of regal authority was in the interest of humanity.

Stopped Friends on the other side of the water appealed
by the to Charles II on behalf of their persecuted
king brethren in America, and he, in the exercise of his kingly prerogatives, called a halt on these cruel and foolish proceedings. In a communication ad-

dressed to each and all of the governors of New England the "Merry Monarch" stole time enough from his pleasures to say that there must be no more persecutions and no more hangings of "those people called Quakers;" but that all cases in which they were involved must be transferred to England for trial and final disposition. This opened the prison doors and let the oppressed go free. It was a good stroke by a bad sovereign.

The end of the controversy came none too soon for the welfare and peace of the Plymouth colony. The Old Col-

ony never suffered so much from this Quaker agitation as the Bay colony; but it was greatly disturbed. The question got into politics and made party divisions. Men who be-

lieved that the authorities were going too far were shoved into the background, and the more headstrong were pushed to the front. The struggle was fast assuming an aspect of personal bitterness and factional rivalry. Had it continued there would have been lasting alienation. As it was, Isaac Robinson, the son of the ever-to-be-remembered John Robinson, and the Howlands, and others of the prominent men who lifted their hands against these harsh measures, were discredited, and had to wait until the storm had passed before they could be reinstated in the public favor. The situation was one from which it was well to escape at almost any price.

XIX

CONFEDERATION OF THE COLONIES

In the origin and development, the strengthening and the triumph, of those agencies which transferred from the Old World to the New the trial of fresh ideas and the experiment with free institutions, the Colonists of New England had the leading part. The influence and the institutions which have gone forth from them have had a prevailing sway in the northern half of this Continent. — GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS.

The Colonies, three thousand miles distant from England, leagued together for mutual defense; and their Amphictyonic Council was as valuable and as important to them, as the greater Confederacies of the Old World, which the most loyal historians have applauded and approved.

JOHN STEINSON BARRY.

It was not only domestic, but foreign enemies that induced this Confederation, which may well be called the embryo of the Constitution of the United States. — SEWELL HARDING.

XIX

CONFEDERATION OF THE COLONIES

AT this point it is necessary to return to an earlier stage in the history of the Pilgrims than that which has just now been under review. In 1643, an important milestone was reached, and a new and significant chapter was opened in the progress of the Plymouth colony.

I

Massachusetts Bay, the colony of the Pilgrims, and the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, entered into a confederation. The name given to the organization was The United Colonies of New England. At that time the Plymouth colony numbered about three thousand inhabitants.

Massachusetts had five times as many. Connecticut had about the same number as Plymouth; and New Haven five hundred less. There were eight towns in the Old Colony.

The leaders in the movement had three main objects in view in bringing about this union. One was that there might be a prompt and satisfying way of adjusting disputes over boundaries, and amicably settling such other differences as might arise between the parties concerned. Another was the promotion of their mutual interests by encouraging each other in "preserving and propagating the truths and liberties of the gospel." It was a "cosociation for mutual help and strength;" and they hoped by means of it to increase their chances of "advancing the Kingdom

of Jesus Christ." How the underlying concern of these men — Pilgrims and Puritans alike — for the deep things of God and the soul crops out at every turn! Still another, the most obvious and commending, was the common defense.

Five years before the date just named a serious effort had been made to establish a league of this sort; but the time had not come when all could see eye to eye, and realize the importance of standing together in an alliance which, in emergencies, would make each a vital part of the whole, and the whole much more weighty and efficient.

At the date first mentioned, however, 1643, and after much agitation of the question, public opinion was ripe for the advance step. Concert of plan and action had become a necessity. Indian matters in particular were assuming grave and threatening aspects and awakening most serious apprehensions. The disturbed condition of things in England greatly increased the peril from this source. If revolution was to be inaugurated, if the home government was to be overturned, if the authorities were to be obliged to devote all their attention to securing or holding their places, there would be small chance of receiving help from over the seas in case savage plots were hatched and massacres were attempted. With jealous nations alert, and rival colonies of other speech and faith ready to act on hints from intriguing politicians, wily chiefs of the forest tribes would be promptly apprised of the situation, and know well when and where to strike their deadly blows. So it was feared; and this fear became a spur to union.

Still, while this was a ground of alarm and a reason for coming together, there was to be no wanton aggression on the Indians. The ninth article of the terms of union was carefully drawn, and made as clear and strong as possible, with the specific end in view of preventing any one of the colonies from acting on its own responsibility, either in resisting threatened attacks, or making assaults, or in avenging wrongs done by the Indians. They were to receive kindness and open-handed justice.

II

The basis of the union was the political equality of the colonies, and the right of each to be represented by two delegates in the conferences. These delegates, or representatives from the colonies, were called commissioners. Under the provisions of the union there could be only eight of them at most; but they constituted a legislative assembly. They were a federal congress. One of its own number was to be chosen to preside over the deliberations of the body; though the president's vote on any measure up for adoption counted no more than the vote of any other member. On questions of peace and war it required, save in "sudden exigencies," six votes to pass a motion and make it binding. If propositions of weight were presented which could not command the six votes needed for their adoption, they were referred to the general court of the several colonies. The apportionment of forces and the meeting of expenses in case of war were to be according to the numbers and financial strength of the several colonies. Massachusetts, for instance, was to furnish men in the ratio of one hundred to forty-five for each of the other jurisdictions. This proportion, however, which was so fixed in one of the articles of the compact under which the confederation had been formed, was altered at the first session of the commissioners, and Massachusetts was set down for one hundred and fifty, Plymouth and Connecticut for thirty each, while New Haven was required to raise only twenty-five. This shows what forward strides the Bay colony was making in those early years. The meetings of the commissioners were to be held once a year — though when occasion called there might be emergency meetings — and in each of the colonies in turn. The best men were sent to this little congress. John Winthrop was the first president in a line of presidents which would have done honor to any legislative body in the world. Bradford was four times elected a commissioner; and he was twice chosen to preside. The men, however, who were most frequently sent to represent Plymouth, while

the colonies were acting under the first articles of union, were Thomas Prince, John Brown, Josiah Winslow, and Thomas Southworth.

III

In 1662, through the influence of John Winthrop, the younger, a charter of remarkably liberal provisions was obtained from Charles II, for Connecticut. This charter was found to cover New Haven. Three years later, after not a little bitter controversy and much against the will of many of the leading citizens, the colony of Davenport and Eaton became merged in that of Haynes and Hooker. This reduced the colonies which were in the confederation from four to three, and called for a reconstruction of the articles of union. It took many conferences and a number of years to bring this about; but in 1672 the revised articles were ratified and the confederacy set out anew.

The important changes were that henceforth it would require five out of six, instead of six out of eight, of the commissioners to make an action binding; the meetings were to be not annual but triennial — though provision was made for calling and holding extraordinary meetings when occasion demanded; wars were not to be undertaken except by authorization of the general courts of the several colonies; men were to be raised for the common defense, and expenses met for military operations, on the basis of a new apportionment by which Massachusetts was to contribute in the ratio of one hundred to sixty for Connecticut and thirty for Plymouth. There were other alterations; but these were the main ones. It was under this second constitution that the colonies lived and carried on their joint operations, until Plymouth was finally annexed to Massachusetts and became extinct as an independent jurisdiction.

IV

What did the confederacy do for the Plymouth colony? There are several answers to this question. In a general way it may be said that it did for the Plymouth colony just what was expected of it when the confederacy was formed. It gave new heart and new hope to the people. It removed the sense of isolation which had sometimes been so weakening and oppressive. It imparted the confidence which it derived from an increase in the numbers of those who have interests in common and are moved by a common spirit and purpose. It increased the resources, both of strength and wisdom, available in case of contest. To a single strand three strands were added; and it made a cord which, to say the least, could not be so easily broken. It was a tie that bound in a wider fellowship. It was a rift in the clouds of a threatening sky.

V

But, in addition to a general service of this kind, it rendered specific services of great worth along the lines had in view when the confederacy was formed. To cite a single instance, it may be said that title to the ownership and jurisdiction over a tract of country lying on the border between the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies was satisfactorily adjusted and the boundaries definitely fixed. For a number of years, beginning with 1640, Seekonk, a portion of which is now known as Rehoboth, was a bone of contention between the two colonies. The Bay colony claimed it, apparently because she wanted it; and the Old Colony asserted her right to it in virtue of some sort of patent. So long as the colonies remained separate, there was no way of dealing with the question in dispute except for each to state its position and urge its claims, and there leave the matter. The confederacy furnished a court of appeal, and cases could there be pushed to a finish. Precisely that is what was done in this in-

stance. The facts were laid before the commissioners, and the claims of each side were presented; then those members of the commission who were not parties to the controversy, and to whom the case was referred for decision, made answer in favor of Plymouth. Thus a long and irritating contention was brought to an amicable conclusion. There were other differences of like nature in which the other colonies were concerned and which were brought to happy adjustments by the board of commissioners; but this instance is mentioned because it had to do with Plymouth, and answers our questions by showing how the peace and welfare of Plymouth were promoted by the confederacy.

For another instance and in another sphere it may be said that the Pilgrims were encouraged to take a freshened interest in education, and to put more zeal into the support of ministers and churches, in consequence of influences brought to bear on them through the confederacy.

Encouraged
to sustain
schools and
churches

When the confederacy was set up the Plymouth colony had been in existence for more than twenty years. While the fires of devotion to high ideals still burned upon the altar, it is not strange that there was a little less heat and glow in the flame than in the earlier times. The struggle to gain a permanent footing in the land had been a hard and wearisome one. New settlers were coming in upon them; but some of them were on the ground simply for gain, and so far as the higher interests of the colony were concerned they were rather a hindrance than a help. Elder Brewster, always an appreciable and unfailing moral and spiritual force in the community, was near the end of his beneficent career. Without any marked degeneracy of the people, though the outlook was somewhat alarming to Bradford; and without any decided lowering of the tone of devotion to the ends of instruction and religion, it was only natural for enthusiastic outsiders to feel that the time had come when a little wise counsel and encouragement would do the colony good, and for the colony to feel that it needed just this kind of wholesome stimulation. In this spirit counsel was given and received. There was no patronizing intrusion, and there

was no irritation. Everything was in good temper; and the moral life of the colony was helped by this association with other members of the confederacy and the suggestions which reached the colony through the confederacy.

It was through the urgent recommendation of the commissioners that Nathaniel Morton was encouraged to write his "New England's Memorial." Though this is far from being a full and perfect account of things in the colony for the first forty years and more, it is yet invaluable.

The Plymouth people had their vision enlarged and their interest in the training of youth increased by the appeals which reached them through the confederacy in behalf of the little college at Cambridge. The help sought was small, but it was given; and the effect was, not only to aid a young and struggling institution, but to stimulate interest in their own schools. The determination and energy with which Massachusetts resisted assaults on religion, or the views and statements and customs which her rulers identified with religion, were not always wise, nor was the counsel which she pressed on her sister colonies always the best; but Plymouth felt the impulse imparted by Massachusetts, and the purpose of the Pilgrims to foster sound learning was intensified, and their zeal in maintaining the truth, in supporting churches, and in strengthening the hands of the ministers, was very much quickened. In some instances harm was done by this outside urgency; but the good was more than the harm, and the good was abiding. Plymouth gave; but she also received; and the people of the Old Colony were wider-visioned and more earnest in their loyalty to truth and duty because of the ideas and influences which reached them through the channels of the confederacy.

Important, however, as the confederacy was to Plymouth in other particulars, it was indispensable in the hard and bitter conflict with Philip. The war had to do primarily with the Plymouth colony. Some have thought that the Plymouth colony was wholly to blame for bringing it on; and that a little more tact and patience on the part of the leaders would have prevented it altogether. Be this as it may, the other colonies were very soon

Indispensa-
ble aid in
war with
Philip

involved in the terrific wrestle, and the fight became a fight for the life of them all. Had it not been for this union of the Pilgrim colony with the other colonies, it is difficult to see how the oldest settlement of the league could have maintained its existence. In all human probability it would have been swept from the earth. The account of this conflict will appear more in detail in a later chapter. Here and now it is enough to say, as has just been hinted, that so far as can be gathered from the known facts of the case, if the confederacy had not been formed in 1643 and renewed at a subsequent date, the obituary of the Plymouth colony would have been written in 1675.

VI

In addition to the advantages just enumerated — some of them general, and some of them specific — which the confederacy conferred upon the Plymouth colonists, there were some benefits derived from the union which were not nominated in the bond. They were incidental benefits; but they were real. For the confederacy afforded opportunity or occasion to the Plymouth people to exhibit qualities which, though known to exist, could not otherwise have been brought out and shown so distinctly.

For one thing the union served a purpose in making clear the tenacity with which the Pilgrims held to their local rights. They guarded their democracy with a jealous eye. At the outset they were watchful lest they yield too much in the organization of the league. Then, as measures were introduced from time to time and discussed in their tiny parliament of eight commissioners, they were ever alert in the interest of their cherished local control. In the union and out of the union they had a passion for both equal rights and local rights.

To a large extent this is true, indeed, of all the New England colonies. It is true of all the groups of early settlers, east and west, north and south, who laid the foun-

dations of our institutions; and it remains true to this day. The late Senator Hoar once said to me that one of the reasons why the general government has been so reluctant to exercise its power in behalf of the disfranchised negroes is the traditional unwillingness there is in this country to override, or seem to override, local self-government. When it is remembered that blacks as well as whites belong to the locality, and, therefore, by the very terms of the statement ought to be included in the list of those who have right to a share in the management of the affairs of the locality, the argument would seem to have little weight. It is pre-eminently local self-government which is disregarded and trampled in the dust by this outrage on justice.

But the sentiment was pronounced in the Plymouth colonists; and the questions which came up in connection with the confederacy, and the management of affairs under the terms of the union, helped, not only to develop this sentiment, but to make it more and more evident. It will be recalled that candidates for full citizenship in the colony had to have strong local backing before they could be made freemen. Acting in the larger sphere of the confederacy the Pilgrims still clung to this idea. When the articles of union had been drawn up and practically agreed upon at Boston in May, 1643, Edward Winslow and William Collier, the delegates from Plymouth, refused to sign them "for want of sufficient commission from their General Court." When the old confederacy was abandoned and a new one was formed, there was a marked drift towards less power in the larger organization, and more in the local jurisdiction. It was reserved for the Massachusetts colony, at one stage in the career of the confederacy, to fall back on the extreme doctrine of state rights; but the Plymouth men, while faithful to the obligations which they had assumed in entering the union of the colonies, were never wanting in distrust of centralized power.

Even in a life-and-death struggle like that between the colonists and Philip, the general court of Plymouth passed an order permitting soldiers going on an expedition to choose their commander, and also advising commanders to consult their soldiers as to what should be done. Only

men like the Pilgrims and their successors could be led to victory under this sort of discipline. In cases of importance the commissioners to the confederate conferences insisted on knowing the feelings and opinions of the general court before they would consent to act. With all the resources at her command Plymouth resisted absorption into Massachusetts. The pride of the people was wounded, of course; but the chief thing was that they wanted to manage their own affairs and safeguard their own interests. The last act of the general court of the Old Colony was, in view of the disaster which had befallen them in losing their separate political existence, to appoint a day of "solemn fasting and humiliation." In the state of feeling which then existed amongst them we may be sure that the day was duly observed. New Haven and Plymouth — both settlements strenuous for self-government — had to pass through the humiliating experience of being absorbed in another jurisdiction.

Another one of these incidental advantages afforded by the confederacy to the Plymouth men was the chance it gave them to show the surprising ability which they possessed, and their capacity to meet grave questions as they arose. Any one who reads the story will not fail to be impressed with the way in which they kept up their end in the discussions and negotiations which were carried on between them and their associates in the management of their common affairs.

There is a prevailing notion that the successors in office of the earlier leaders of the Pilgrims, and the children who were born to them, as well as those who from time to time were added to their number from the outside, were greatly inferior to the *Mayflower* company in intellectual capacity and moral fiber. It is quite true that the first comers were a remarkable group. No later names in the Pilgrim line will ever shine with a luster to equal that which attaches to the names of Carver and Bradford, Brewster and Standish, Winslow, Alden, Hopkins, and Howland; but the men who came after them in leadership, or who sprang from their loins in the second and third generation, were by no means wanting in brains and pluck.

Thomas Prince, who joined the colony in 1621, having come over in the *Fortune*, but who in the earlier part of his career was largely overshadowed by the more conspicuous figures of the *Mayflower*; Josiah Winslow, the son of Edward; Thomas Hinckley, who came with his father and mother from England to Scituate, and ten years later removed to Barnstable, and who was the dominating influence at Plymouth during the closing years of the independent political life of the jurisdiction; and Benjamin Church, a Plymouth boy, born in 1639, the military leader at a time when military leadership of a high order was at a premium, were all of them able men. Prince was governor for eighteen years. Sixteen of these years followed the death of Bradford and were without a break. He had his faults and he made mistakes; but there was light in his brain and grip in his hand. He was a warm advocate of schools and churches, and he did what he could to foster these institutions. Winslow followed Prince, and was the chief executive for the seven years which included the trying and triumphant war against Philip. Hinckley held the reins of power for twelve years — counting the time when Andros was doing all the ruling and local governors were of no consequence — and in his difficult position he showed both discretion and courage. It is enough to say of Church that he grasped the situation and measured up, so far as he was permitted to do so, to the full demands of the hour when the awful storm of concerted and savage wrath suddenly blackened the sky and broke on the devoted heads of the colonists. One has only to observe the attitude and actions of the Plymouth men during the years in which their colony was in the confederation to see that in good temper, in intelligent comprehension of conditions, in ability to state a case, in pluck in standing up for their just claims, in diplomacy, in willingness to bear their fair share of the common burdens, and in skill and bravery in war, they were the peers of the representatives of the other colonies. One who reads the correspondence between the representatives of the Massachusetts government and those of Plymouth on the question whether the commissioners by their action could bind all the colonies to support an offensive

who have
this?

war, will see that in comprehension of the question at issue, in clearness of statement, and in cogency of reasoning, the Plymouth advocates had the better of it. It was much to the credit of Bradstreet and Dennison of the Bay colony, who took the rope-of-sand view of the articles of confederation, that they yielded gracefully at last; but it is quite evident that they yielded because they had to do it. They had not only the weaker side; but they were the weaker contestants. The Plymouth statesmen stood as stiffly for local rights as the Massachusetts statesmen; but for the moment, in the crisis which was then upon them, the former saw more clearly than the latter that the way to preserve local rights was, for the time being, to surrender some portion of them to the wider authority of the whole community. These after-years have seen that same question debated in senate chambers by the intellectual giants of the nation, and on many a bloody battle-field where graves and monuments mark the sacrifices of the strife; but the final settlement had been in line with the contention of those humble but far-seeing representatives of the type of democracy which now dominates the nation.

At the end of three-quarters of a century there was less moral enthusiasm among the people, less unity of spirit and purpose, more ambition, more worldliness, and more vice and crime; but there was no moment in the independent life of the Plymouth colony when the leadership of affairs was not in the hands of men of ability and character.

VII

There is another particular in which the Plymouth colony was benefited by this confederation; but it is a particular in which all the colonies were helped.

Training Hence, while the mention of it has a place here,
secured for it ought not to stand out by itself as if appli-
future cable only to the Plymouth people. This union
needs of hearts and hands prefigured and prepared
 the way for another union of hearts and hands
 which was to mean much to the dwellers in this land, and to
 the dwellers in all lands in the time to come. When the hour

had struck for a united front against, not an Indian chief, but a British sovereign, the New Englanders were ready; for their ancestors had taught them how to stand together and work together in a cause which meant life or death.

This union was organic. It was a federal government. The states were small: but it was a confederacy of states. It was not a mere flocking together in a loose alliance of independent sovereignties; but an organization clothed with central and superior authority. As we have seen, Plymouth was slow to yield so much power as seemed to be necessary to the confederacy — though it stood up for it bravely and successfully when the test came; and Massachusetts drew back in an emergency — though it bowed gracefully to the inevitable when the pressure became too much to withstand. Breaches of the terms of the union were not tolerated. When one member of the compact refused to comply, the others asserted the right of the body to have its way. The union of the four colonies was prophetic of the union of the thirteen colonies, and it was educational. Both unions looked forward to a mighty union of independent states. However crude the arrangements, here was the clear foreshadowing of *e pluribus unum*, and of a government where sovereign authority must be recognized, and whose laws no single state might nullify.

10

XX

THE WAR WITH PHILIP



XX

THE WAR WITH PHILIP

ruled the hour and overclouded all life with gloom. No one can have an adequate idea of the perils to which the Pilgrim colonists were exposed, of the hardships which they had to endure, of the sacrifices which they had to make, and of the interruption which the outbreak brought to their progress, who leaves unread the story of this sharp death-grapple between the forces of barbarism and civilization.

I

What were the causes of the war? 'Strictly speaking there were two causes — one general, and the other specific and personal.

Causes of the war The general cause was the conviction which took possession of the leaders on the Indian side that, unless the natives arose in their might and swept the English from the face of the earth, their own race was doomed. The English were increasing; the Indians were diminishing. The English were occupying more and more of the territory which had once been their own; the Indians were being crowded into a corner. It mattered not that the Indians, for considerations satisfactory to themselves, had bartered away their hunting-grounds and set their seals to instruments that made the newcomers the rightful owners of a large part of the domain of which they had once been sole lords — the facts were that they were facing extinction. It was the new against the old. It was the higher against the lower. It was instructed minds, industry, foresight, increasing resources, humanity and progress against the stupid contentment which accepts things as they are and prefers annihilation to change. By yielding and coming under the influence of civilization there might be a future for the aborigines; but if they insisted on clinging to their savagery it must be extermination for one or the other of these races. The land was not wide enough for them both. So the leaders reasoned. So the more obstinate and warlike of the tribes were made to feel.

The specific and personal cause was Philip. It grew out of the overweening ambition, the intriguing and mischief-plotting temper, and the subtle hatred of this Indian chief. He wanted to avenge fancied wrongs, to stand at the head of the New England tribes, and be their leader in recovering ground lost to his race. The savage instinct came to the front, and he was consumed with the passion to have his people dip their hands in blood.

The specific and personal cause

II

Who was Philip? He was a younger son of Massasoit. On the death of his older brother, Alexander, in 1662, he came into succession to the chieftaincy of the Philip Pokanokets.

He was not a man to be trusted. Finding warrant in a statement made by Hubbard, it is frequently asserted in chapters devoted to the war by not a few of our later writers, that the hostile attitude assumed by Philip grew out of harsh treatment accorded to his brother Alexander. Elliott, in his "New England History" rolls this as a sweet morsel under his tongue. But Palfrey shows conclusively that this inference is not warranted. Neither before his fatal illness, nor during the progress of his illness, was Alexander treated harshly. On the contrary, the utmost kindness was extended to him. By nature Philip was untrustworthy. He was the degenerate descendant of a sire who had moral integrity enough to make pledges of friendship and keep them unto the end; and in character he suggests his father only by contrast. He was base and treacherous. His impulses were low and cunning. The sense of honor which marked many a chief of the native tribes was wanting in him. Under the guise of friendship he could prosecute intrigues. When he was suspected, and his plans were uncovered, and he was openly charged with evil intent, he could make lies his refuge; or if he could not escape through the arts of duplicity, he was capable of confessing all in the most abject fashion, and falling back on a new agreement and promise to do better in the future.

Not a man to be trusted

murders were committed; and war in all its fury and with all its horrors was raging far and wide. The design was first of all to overwhelm and annihilate the Pilgrims, and then to sweep out in a wider movement and carry destruction to all the English settlements in New England.

III

The task Philip had in hand was not a light one. The ranks of the tribes which were determined to adhere to barbarism were greatly thinned. At the breaking out of the war it is probable that in all New England there were less than twenty thousand Indians. In the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies there could not have been, so it is estimated, more than twelve thousand natives. Philip's own immediate tribe had dwindled to not much more than three hundred all told. The whites in New England had increased to more than fifty thousand. In Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, the confederated colonies, the white population numbered over forty thousand. In face of this numerical advantage possessed by the English the savage chieftain had to organize war. In any event and to any forecast the issue must have seemed doubtful. It could have been no easy matter, therefore, for Philip to persuade other savage chieftains that the chances of success, even by resorting to all the methods of surprise, treachery, intimidation, and slaughter known to Indian warfare, were good. The more intelligent of them must have known that they were not good.

This, however, is the least surprising part of the story. The nations and the tribes of the nations on which the son of Massasoit could rely for an effective campaign against their civilized neighbors were alienated from each other by long-standing feuds and jealousies. Somehow, if anything was to be accomplished, they must be reconciled, informed with a common aim, inflamed with a common passion, welded into unity, and prepared to deliver a blow which should have in it the terror of a con-

Indian
ranks
greatly
reduced

Feuds and
jealousies
to be
reconciled

certed onset and the crushing weight of a combined strength. Insignificant as his own following was, he brought the leaders of the Nipmucks, a formidable foe when all their groups were united, and the leaders of the Narragansetts, with their four thousand warriors, to his way of thinking. Not without cunning and force, not without skilful intrigues and artful persuasions, we may be sure, was this result, so essential to his object, secured by Philip.

But this is what he did. To confront a triple alliance of white men he brought about a triple alliance of red men; and when the storm of open war broke upon the country it was organization against organization. Such results do not come of themselves; and just then there was nobody in sight who could have secured this combination of the savage tribes except the wily Wampanoag chief.

IV

Still further, when the conflict was actually on, and torch and tomahawk were doing their deadly work, Philip found to his chagrin and sorrow that there was a large body of Christian Indians who could not be detached from their loyalty to the English, but who, on the contrary, would give them aid and comfort in the life-and-death struggle. Surely the missionaries who labored for the conversion of the Indians in the early days of the settlement of the Plymouth colony had their reward. They had their reward in the good done to the savages; and they had the further reward of seeing those who had been brought into the faith of our Lord become an important factor in defense at an hour when the very existence of the colony was at stake.

This statement applies to other colonies of New England; but it has special pertinency of application to the Plymouth colony. If it had not been for the labors of Eliot and his associates in Massachusetts, and of the Mayhews in Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, and of Bourne and his fellow-workers on the cape, it is difficult to see how

the Plymouth colony could have survived this terrific shock. The Nausites alone, had they remained in their unevangelized state and at enmity with the English, would have been a serious menace to them at all times, and especially at this time. The Bay colony, more compact and far more powerful, might have fought her way through successfully. So might others of the colonies. Judging from this distance and taking all conditions into account, it seems probable that Plymouth would have been pushed to the wall.

It must be gratefully conceded, therefore, that the Christian Indians averted a dire disaster. Distrusted at first, as was not altogether unnatural, they came to be the recognized guides of the little companies and squads of white men in conducting their partisan warfare, and their unfailing supporters in hot and dangerous contests. It was the unerring bullet of a Christian Indian which laid Philip in the dust. It was under the daring lead of another Christian Indian that Church was enabled to drop down over a steep, shelving ledge into the presence of Anawan, the able lieutenant of Philip, and there, in what was supposed to be his inaccessible stronghold, surprise him into surrender. Indian captives were put in charge of Christian Indians, and the guardians never betrayed their trust. The Nipmucks in Massachusetts afford an exception — or some of them at any rate; but for the most part, the praying Indians, as they were called, kept the faith and were faithful. They added worthy names to the roll of martyrs. The Old Colony was abundantly compensated for all her outlays in behalf of the wild tribes into the midst of which she was thrown. No equal amount of money, time, and energy spent by the Pilgrims ever had so much defensive value as that which was devoted to winning the untutored children of the forest to the higher and better life of true disciples of the divine Master. It was not alone philanthropy — it was a military measure of highest importance and it was statesmanship of the first order. Others may belittle efforts to bring barbarous peoples under the influence of faith in the Son of God and a Christian civilization,

if they will; but words in disparagement of such endeavors must ever have a strange sound coming from the lips of those whose ancestors had any association with Plymouth Rock.

V

The war ran on for more than a year and a half. It began, as we have seen, within the jurisdiction of the Plymouth colony. The primary object of it was to exterminate the Plymouth people. From the beginning the struggle was fierce and sanguinary. Massacre followed massacre, and town after town went up in flames. The opening attack on Swansea was quickly succeeded by attacks on Dartmouth, Middleborough, and Taunton. Encounters were frequent. Church was sent to the front at once; but the conduct of the war was not in his hands. Had the direction of operations been turned over to him at the first, as it was at the last, he would have made short work of Philip and his allies; but he was hampered by his superiors; and advantages which he gained in early skirmishes with the foe were not pursued and made decisive.

At the end of a six weeks' campaign the scene of war shifted from the bounds of Plymouth to the territory of Massachusetts. Here it was the same blood-curdling story of ambush, surprise, incendiary flame, marauding adventure, capture, and death. Through the autumn and winter, and up to the edge of spring, the awful tragedy occupied the stage. The abandonment of Mendon, the burning of Deerfield, the attacks on Hadley and Springfield, the destruction of Northfield, the frightful slaughter on both sides in the battle which raged about the fort of the Narragansetts in their swamp retreat, the siege of Brookfield, the harrowing story of Mrs. Rowlandson and her children captured in the assault on Lancaster, the surprise of Medfield, the sharp conflict, the property losses and the escapes at Groton, the wiping out of Marlborough, the melancholy defeat of the

gallant Wadsworth and his force of fifty men at Sudbury, the sudden and overwhelming assault made on the Indians and the failure through panic to reap the fruits of the victory at Turner's Falls, and the lamentable deaths of Captains Beers, Marshall, Lathrop, Johnson, Wadsworth, Turner, and others, along with many hundreds of brave men who were in the ranks of the various companies, fall into this period of horror.

VI

Meantime, having involved many communities in destruction and brought many lives to an untimely end, the war swept back from the territory of the Bay colony and began its ravages anew within the bounds of the Plymouth settlement. William Clark's garrison-house, located within three miles of the Rock, was attacked and burned. The men were all at church. By an act of criminal carelessness the gate of the house was left open. The Indians seized their opportunity, entered, killed eleven women and children, including Mrs. Clark, took what plunder they wished, set fire to the building, and fled. This was the first rude touch of the heavy hand of war felt within the precincts of the town of Plymouth. A couple of weeks later, Captain Michael Peirce, of Scituate, started out with a hardy company of fifty of his fellow townsmen, and twenty friendly Indians from Cape Cod, to beat back the aggressive enemy. He met the foe in large numbers at a point called "Study Hill," in what is now Pawtucket, and he and his company were annihilated. Eight of the friendly Indians escaped, and those were all. It was a dark hour. Darker hours were to follow. Rehoboth was attacked and more than threescore houses and barns were reduced to ashes. Dartmouth and Middleborough had been abandoned, and the destruction of residences in those towns was a simple matter. In addition to these places the part of Plymouth which is now called Halifax was burned. Bridgewater suffered, though no one of her people was mas-

sacred, and not one of her soldiers was lost in battle. Taunton, like Bridgewater, escaped with small property losses, but she suffered more in men. Five of her citizens lost their lives at the hands of the Indians. Scituate felt the full weight of the blow. Besides the loss of Peirce and his half a hundred of daring comrades who fell in one engagement, this town was desperately assaulted and more than twenty buildings, one of which was a sawmill, were given to the flames, and six men of family were slain. There were other disasters and sorrows. Along the border-line which separated the English and the Indians men took their lives in their hands when they went forth to their daily tasks; and wives and mothers left alone with their babes knew not what bereavements a night might bring them. Eternal vigilance was the price the people had to pay for their lives, and the wonder is that all were not worn out by the constant strain of anxiety.

VII

The end was in sight. After a year or so of the consuming struggle the Indians found their fighting forces reduced to small numbers and their resources of all sorts greatly diminished. They had staked all on the issue and were about to lose.

End of
war in
sight

The most hopeful feature of the outlook, however, was turning the direction of military operations over to Church. The authorities had been experimenting in generals; at last they found their Grant. Others had done well — some of them remarkably well; but Church was both a born strategist and a born fighter. After two or three weeks of active campaigning at the beginning of the war, he had been practically retired from the service for the reason that his policies and methods did not commend themselves to those at the head of affairs. But he knew Indians quite as well as they knew themselves. He could meet them on their own ground and at their own tactics. He had the courage to brave dangers, the wariness to avoid traps, and the instinct and experience which told him

when and where to strike. He had the magnanimity of all large-natured personalities. He could use friendly Indians in a way to make one white man with a red man at his side a vastly more effective force than two white men could be. Very soon Philip was tracked to his lair and shot. Nor was it long before Anawan was in the toils and compelled to yield up his life.

This practically ended the war. There were still enemies lurking in the swamps. Cattle were stolen, lives were not considered safe in exposed places, and the English were not altogether at ease. Other expeditions had to be organized; but these were to pursue a timid, skulking foe. There were skirmishes; yet these were only the low and distant rumblings of a storm that had spent its force and passed over.

The end
reached

lish were not altogether at ease. Other expeditions had to be organized; but these were to pursue a timid, skulking foe. There were skir-

VIII

The cost of the war on both sides was great; but the results were permanent. Philip was dead. The power of the Wampanoags, the Narragansetts, and the Nipmucks was broken, and their wasted strength could never be restored. More than two thousand of the red warriors had been made to bite the dust. The sacrifices and sufferings of the English were likewise appalling. Thirteen towns were destroyed. Many other towns were damaged. Six hundred dwelling-houses went up in flame. Not less than six hundred people — the most of them men, and some of them the foremost men in their several communities, were killed. Few were the homes in which there was not mourning for the dead. Private property to the extent of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds was destroyed. Industry was diverted from many of its ordinary channels; and prosperity was greatly hindered. Of the public outlay, twenty-seven thousand pounds fell to Plymouth colony.

In connection with this bloody conflict two facts may be set down to the everlasting credit of the Pilgrims.

One is that it was a Plymouth man — Captain Benja-

min Church, whom Goodwin well calls "the Myles Standish of the second generation" — who finally conducted the campaign to victory. That victory made it certain that in due time there were to be no more stealthy approaches of a wily foe, no more incendiary torches, no more tomahawks, no more deadly arrows flying at noonday, to bring terror and harm to these sturdy men and much-enduring women who were laying the foundations of a puissant nation.

The other is that the debt contracted in carrying on the war was paid down to the last farthing. It was a staggering debt. It would have been a heavy load to carry at any time. It was almost, if not quite, four pounds to each man, woman, and child within the jurisdiction. To have this saddled on top of their private losses, at a time, too, when their industry had been checked, and many of their enterprises had been brought to a standstill, and there was nothing in which they could engage with the expectation of quick and large returns, was little less than crushing. To their everlasting honor, be it said, they paid it all. The fathers of the first generation set the example of paying all their money obligations in full. The children of the second generation followed in the footsteps of their immediate forbears and never exposed themselves to the charge of repudiating an honest debt. The cloud which hung over the colony of the Pilgrims for more than a year was a dark one; but it had a silver lining: and the courage, the high purpose, the trust, the integrity, and the steadfastness of the people were made to shine with a fresh luster.



XXI

THE CLOSING YEARS

his master. He was to be aided by a council, which like himself was to be, not elected, but appointed. When brought together, this board of advisers was found to include quite a large number of intelligent and reputable men. Some of the best and most competent representatives of the Plymouth colony were amongst those appointed. But the trustworthy men, for reasons not far to seek, soon fell to the rear, and the close advisers of the governor dwindled to a little coterie who were more than ready to "crook the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift might follow fawning." They were Tories before the day of Tories in this western world, and their namesakes of the Revolutionary period could not deny the kinship though they had little occasion to be proud of it. One of them, as we shall see, was an Old Colony man. Verily, he had his reward.

It is only in its bearings on the Plymouth colony, however, that the arbitrary rule of Andros concerns us here. His hand was heaviest on the Bay colony; for his official residence was at Boston. Besides, there was more in Boston to challenge his authority and dispute his usurpations than amongst the more quiet folk of the older settlement; but the Plymouth people felt the oppression keenly enough to make them groan and cry out in no mild terms of protest.

Here are some of the indignities and wrongs which had to be endured under the administration of this imported governor. Their own governor — the governor of their own free choice — like the other governors of New England, was displaced. The press was muzzled. Freedom of worship — one of the most sacred articles in their political and religious creed — was threatened. Persons having probate business in hand had to go to Boston to transact it. Titles to lands were put in jeopardy and large fees were exacted for confirming them. Indeed, the claim was that through the abrogation of the charter of the Bay colony, all titles to lands in that jurisdiction reverted to James; and that, inasmuch as the Plymouth colony had never had a charter, the lands in any event belonged to the crown. This was exceedingly annoying as well as unjust and burdensome. Town meetings, which played such an important

part in the system of government, were deprived of most of their rights and lost their significance. Laws were to be made by the governor and his council, subject only to conformity to the laws of England and the royal sanction. Anybody might be called upon to take the oath of allegiance to the king. Currency was to be regulated by this new executive. Taxes were no longer self-imposed by the vote of free citizens, but were determined by the chief executive and his over-acquiescent advisers. Clark's Island, which had been set aside by the freemen of Plymouth to the support of the poor, was turned over to Nathaniel Clark. Clark was a son of the colony, but a favorite of the governor from overseas for the reason that he had bowed so subserviently to his will. On some trumped-up claim the island was to be made his private property. When protest was made by Ichabod Wiswell, the able and public-spirited minister of Duxbury, and Elder Faunce, they were fined for their impertinence, and otherwise insulted and wronged. Before the business was finally settled, the minister was treated to a taste of the humiliation and hardship with which malignant ingenuity can always torment its victims.

From the closing days of 1686 till the spring of 1689 — about two years and a half — this state of things continued. It was the old tyranny under new conditions, but the old tyranny still. It had not reached the severity of the London, Norwich, and Scrooby days; nevertheless it was headed that way, and, if unchecked, would soon come to it. All that was most valuable and sacred in the great venture made by the Pilgrims was at stake. Religious liberty, political liberty, the rights of property, were alike put in jeopardy. The wide diffusion of knowledge was discouraged, the enjoyment of freedom was restrained, the exercise of self-government was denied. It was an attempt to pluck up the oak of liberty, which had had such a healthy and vigorous growth in its new soil, and set it back, with roots trimmed, into the pot of tyranny from which it had been transplanted. The people held their breath and bided their hour.

II

Relief came with a suddenness which was quite as surprising as it was gratifying. When word reached Boston that William had set foot on English soil, and **Timely relief** was making his way to the seat which James would have to vacate, the outraged people of the community rose up in the might of a righteous wrath, seized the governor, and compelled him to resign. Four days later the good news reached Plymouth. This put things back where they were when Andros arrived and assumed control of affairs.

Committees of public safety were extemporized. In some of the colonies there was a little more deliberation than in others; but in all of them the people sprang **Governors restored** at once to their feet. They knew what ought to be done, and they did it. The superseded governors were called upon to step into their old places and resume their old duties.

In Massachusetts, on the day following the imprisonment of Andros, Simon Bradstreet, who was then eighty-seven years old, and who had been put out of the governorship through the administrations of both Dudley and Andros, was restored to his office by one of those self-created committees, though he did not attempt to exercise the regular functions of his office till somewhat later. In Connecticut, in accordance with "some general understanding, a number of principal men," got together and submitted to a mass meeting of freemen the question whether those who were in authority when Andros came should be restored to place and power. The question was answered in the affirmative; and Robert Treat became once more the acknowledged head of the colony. He was kept in his place for nine years more. In Rhode Island things took the same course; but Walter Clarke, the displaced governor, had no heart for the controversy, and declined what seemed to him the perilous honor.

At Plymouth, Thomas Hinckley, who was first elected governor in 1680, and who had been annually reelected up

to the time of Sir Edmund, walked to the front and sat down in the chair of chief executive just as if there had been no break. The only thing in the transaction which showed heat as well as a firm determination to have their wrongs set right was the arrest of Nathaniel Clark. As we have seen, he was an Old Colony man, who had lent himself heart and soul to the schemes of Andros, and had endeavored, through the favor of his chief, to secure possession of Clark's Island. He was imprisoned, put in irons, and sent on the same ship with Andros to England. On the other side of the water the officials took a different view of the case from that taken on this side, and Clark came back rewarded rather than punished for what he had done. He never regained the favor of his fellow-citizens; and the infamy of his attempt to secure possession of the island, which had come to have a sort of sacredness in the estimation of the Plymouth people, followed the man to his grave and can never be dissociated from his name.

III

It is one of the most edifying spectacles in our political history to see how democracy acquitted itself on this trying occasion. A stone had been dropped into the waters and the waters had parted; but as soon as the stone was out of sight they flowed together again and the surface was as smooth as ever. To be able to recur to such an instance gives one a new confidence in the political instincts and sagacity of a self-governing people, and a fresh assurance that men who love liberty and are trained in the habit of liberty, will know how to meet emergencies in which liberty is in peril. It would seem as if these immediate descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers and heirs of the great Mayflower Compact were not in need of further lessons on the value of the equal rights of man, and the importance of maintaining them at all hazards, than they had learned at the feet of their sires; but no doubt this doctrine of equal rights, which they made central to their system of government and

An
edifying
spectacle

on which they laid such emphasis, was far more precious to them after they had been at school to oppression for a couple of years. No doubt, too, that the memory of Andros and his heavy hand was a potent factor in the determination to stand by their democracy and maintain it, or die in the attempt, when Hutchinson and Gage occupied the seats of the mighty in Boston and were doing the will of George III.

IV

The new charter for Massachusetts brought over from England by the new governor, William Phipps, was signed in October, 1691. This charter embraced the Old Colony. When it was set in operation on the following year the independent political existence of the little state founded by the Pilgrims, and cherished by them and their children as the apple of the eye, came to an end. In the light of any alternative of which we can think, it would hardly be reasonable to say that the end was untimely.

From the records of the transaction which have been preserved it is evident that the colonists held divergent views on the wisdom of this measure. The colony had never had a charter. The time had come when it appeared to be impracticable to try to go on without one. The people in general, or a large majority of them, were eager to secure a charter, and under the shelter of it, to continue as they were — an independent, self-governing community. Some of the leaders were suspected of entertaining opinions on this question which were not in harmony with the prevailing sentiment.

Nevertheless, there was a united and earnest effort made to obtain the charter and thus preserve and perpetuate the independent life of the colony. Agents were appointed to present the case to the English officials. These agents were Sir Henry Ashurst, of England, Increase Mather, of Boston, and Ichabod Wiswell, of Duxbury. There were three difficulties in the way. It was in the mind of the English government to annex the Plymouth colony to New York.

Money was needed to prosecute the request for a charter to a successful issue, and Plymouth was too poor to raise the sum required. Mather was only half-hearted in his advocacy of the wishes of the colony. He prevented, so it is claimed, the annexation of Plymouth to New York; but when it came to the point of uniting the Old Colony to the Bay colony it is charged that he was lukewarm in his efforts to preserve the interests of the Plymouth people.

Be all this as it may, the charter was not obtained. Plymouth was absorbed by Massachusetts; and from that day to this the commonwealth of the Pilgrims has been an integral part of the commonwealth of the Puritans.

V

As already intimated, this was a consummation to be desired. Limited in area, small in the number of its inhabitants, without resources to yield wealth, without

A consum- commodities and harbors to attract commerce,
mation to the Old Colony could hardly have been ex-
be desired pected to develop into a commanding state.

While we sympathize with the people in their keen disappointment over the loss of their civic unity and independence, it is impossible not to feel that it was better on all accounts for the two colonies to become one; and that the men who entertained this view at the time were the wiser statesmen. Goodwin says that "this result was bitterly deplored by the people of Plymouth, and Hinckley lost friends through covertly promoting it." Thacher says that "it appears that some distinguished individuals were dissatisfied with the union of the two colonies, but Governor Hinckley was well reconciled to the measure, and it is clearly understood that the union was at no period a subject of regret with the people generally." These two statements are not so far apart as they seem to be on the surface; and they show clearly that the instincts of the wisest leaders, and the sober, second thought of the people at large, were in favor of a step which is now seen to have been inevitable. Plymouth went where she belonged. Her historic associa-

tions, her opinions and sentiments, her methods and habits, her location and identity of interests, and the gravitations of her life, fitted her in a preeminent degree for union with her sister colony of the Bay. Plymouth did not lose, but gained by the union. As Queen Mary, whom the loyal colonists were prompt to acknowledge, when with her husband she ascended the throne of England, did not surrender, but preserved the dignity and power of her royal house by merging her life in the life of William, the Prince of Orange, so the weaker colony was saved to all that was best in the possibilities of the future by coming into vital relations with the stronger. It was a victorious defeat. The Pilgrims lost their political identity only to find it again in the larger life and wider glory of a commonwealth whose achievements in learning and liberty, in extending an even-handed justice to all, and in character-building, may well challenge the admiration of mankind. In the consummation of this union each colony added something valuable to the other, and each colony received something valuable from the other. Plymouth contributed the immortal names of Bradford, Brewster, and Standish, and a record of seventy years of heroic daring and splendid achievements in self-government, to the enrichment of the commonwealth of the Bay State; and in turn entered into a full share in the inheritance of the names of Winthrop, Endicott, and Cotton, and of the memorable deeds wrought by them and their successors through all the years which have followed. Neither would Massachusetts mean so much were she not able to identify her history with Plymouth Rock; nor would Plymouth Rock mean so much had not the significance of it been caught and carried forward in the life, laws, customs, and institutions of Massachusetts. Bradford and Winthrop lock hands in the model commonwealth of the world.

XXII

LESSONS TAUGHT BY THE PILGRIMS

History ought surely in some degree, if it is worth anything, to anticipate the lessons of time. We shall all, no doubt, be wise after the event; we study history that we may be wise before the event. — JOHN ROBERT SEELEY.

The story of the Pilgrims has all the elements of a fascinating romance. When it is read in the light of what they have produced and in the spirit of sympathy which appreciates and enjoys the religious and civil liberty we inherit, it is fitted beyond most uninspired records to kindle exalted ideas of citizenship and to stimulate young and old to self-denying service of country and mankind. — A. E. DUNNING.

Let us not forget the religious character of our origin. Our fathers were brought hither by their high veneration for the Christian religion. They journeyed in its light and labored in its hope. They sought to incorporate its principles with the elements of their society, and to diffuse its influence through all their institutions, civil, political, and literary. Let us cherish these sentiments, and extend their influence still more widely.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

They established what they planned. Their feeble plantation became the birthplace of religious liberty, the cradle of a free Commonwealth. To them a mighty nation owes its debt. Nay, they made the civilized world their debtor. In the varied tapestry which pictures our national life, the richest spots are those where gleam the golden threads of conscience, courage, and faith, set in the web of that little band. May God in His great mercy grant that the moral impulse which founded this nation may never cease to control its destiny. — ROGER WOLCOTT.

Were I to choose the one spot above all others wherein to teach my son the lessons of religious truth and national patriotism, I should bring him to Plymouth Rock. — HENRY W. GRADY.

Their faithful sons and daughters breathe
New songs to swell their deathless fame,
And shall to latest heirs bequeath
Due honor to the Pilgrim name.

GEORGE M. HERRICK.

XXII

LESSONS TAUGHT BY THE PILGRIMS

THE story has been told. The high resolve, the brave endeavor, the trying experience, the hardships and perils, the defeats and final triumphs of the Pilgrims have been spread before us. It remains to consider whether there are any lessons applicable to those of us who live in this day and generation, and occupy the land they subdued, to be learned from a study of the remarkable achievements of this little band of heroic souls. Were they loyal to ideals and under the control of motives which may well continue to be the ideals and motives of their successors in training manhood and managing public affairs? We are reaping precious fruits from the seed sown by these diligent and wise Fathers; we have entered into the sacred inheritance of their foresight, prayers, toils, and sacrifices; and, moving forward on the lines which they opened, we have become a great nation. Over and above this are there any guiding ideas to be discovered, any underlying truths or maxims of permanent value disclosed, in what the Plymouth colonists said and did, which may be wrought into our twentieth century systems, and made ruling factors in the policies of the men who now hold the center of the stage, and shape public opinion, and give direction to movements in church and state?

A simple statement of what they believed, of the theories on which they proceeded in doing their work, of the aims, private and public, which they cherished, and of the spirit which they illustrated, will show us with what tremendous emphasis this question is to be answered in the affirmative. Indeed, it may be confidently asserted that the leading views which these men accepted for the government of their in-

dividual and associated life, the ideals which they followed, the motives to which they yielded, and the ends which they sought to accomplish, are as opportune and imperative to-day as they were in the days in which the Pilgrims acted their part in the mighty drama of human progress, and won a place of renown in history from which they can never be dislodged.

The Pilgrims, be it remembered, were plain, and, for the most part, unlettered men. All the same, they recognized their individual responsibilities, and did not a little hard, independent, and exceedingly profitable thinking. They were not academic hair-splitters. They did not reach their conclusions from the premises of the schools. They were common-sense logicians. The lessons they learned were fresh and personal to themselves. They went back to first principles, and kept close to the heart of things. This is true of them in the matter of civil government, as we have already seen in the instance of the Mayflower Compact. It is also true of them in the sphere of religion. They struck through form to substance, and laid stress on the great simples of the faith. They failed in some things; but they did not fail in the things which are fundamental to the best life that now is and to the life which is to come. With them it was not mint, anise, and cummin, but the weightier matters of the law. They built on sure foundations.

I

To begin with, the Pilgrims had exalted views of God, and their faith in him was profound. He was bed-rock to all their thinking, and controlling factor in all their actions. His existence, personality, purity, and indwelling and overbrooding presence were as real to them as the earth they walked on or the air they breathed. Without ever having heard the phrase they practised the presence of God. In their own experience they found a testimony to the saving grace, the sweet comforting nearness, and the sustaining strength of the Most High which was convincing and conclusive. Often they walked in sorrow, and always

along paths of hardship; but they walked with God. The Friend of Abraham was their Friend, the Father of the Christ was their Father; and they revered and adored him, and sought in all things to know and to do his will. Like Isaiah and Paul and Edwards and Robertson and all devout souls, they felt awe of God, and all their approaches to him were humble and reverent. One never detects them in making overfamiliar and flippant addresses to the Almighty. It would have been impossible for these men to think of God as other than infinitely august and sacred — the High and Holy One who inhabiteth eternity.

It is a suggestive fact that the Pilgrims were wont to use capital letters in writing out the name of God. It was not god, as the rationalists write it; nor God, as reverent believers write it; but GOD, with every letter large. Using the largest letters, however, with which to set forth the name of God was not confined to their epistles and pamphlets and journals; they carried the custom over into their daily lives — into their home circles, into their industries and business activities, and into their legislation. Always and everywhere and in everything, they spelled God with capital letters. Since the days of the Old Testament theocracy it would be difficult to cite a people, small or large, who kept God so constantly in their minds, who magnified his name to such an extent in both worship and work, and who aimed to be guided so entirely by his will, as the members of that little, struggling Plymouth colony.

The assertion is often made that the Pilgrims, in common with all Puritans of their age, failed in a proper appreciation of the fatherhood of God. This may be. It is no easy matter to maintain an even balance in our conception of the gentler and sterner elements in the divine character. It is only when the clock is not going that the pendulum ceases to swing to extremes and rests at the center of its arc of movement.

The love of God is a fact to be magnified evermore. God is love — not loving merely, but love. Woe to a race of erring and sinful men were it not so. The Christ was here

because of the love of the Father. His being here set forth this love in the most positive and impressive way. Besides showing it by taking his place in the ranks of our humanity, he declared it in every persuasive form of speech and ministry and sacrifice. In his presence and in his various services he was an unimpeachable testimony to the love of God for the world. It is a loss to anybody not to have the conception of the love of God which expresses itself in fatherhood. Robinson, in the earlier stages of the career of the Pilgrims, did not fail in this particular; nor did Brewster and Bradford and their associates and successors in the later stages. The word was not so often on their tongues; but the idea which underlies fatherhood was in their minds, and the sense of fatherhood was in their hearts.

But while this is true, the thinkers in this remarkable group of men could not escape the conclusion that God is not only a God of love, but a God of righteousness. Indeed, they could not understand how he could be a God of love without being a God of righteousness. In their view love is not love unless it is articulated and veined through and through with righteousness. "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts" is an ascription to the Almighty in which they heartily joined. Thinking in this way, it was inconceivable to them that God is or can be blind to moral distinctions and fail to discriminate between right and wrong, truth and falsehood, purity and impurity, justice and injustice. They recognized the duty of loving God with all the heart and soul and mind, and their neighbors as themselves; but they likewise considered it to be duty to obey God. They never permitted the fact of the holiness of God to drop out of their schedule of the divine attributes. They discovered holiness in the forefront of the character of God; they saw holiness informing the law of God; they found holiness emphasized on every page of the Old Testament and the New; they felt the force of holiness in the conduct of life and in the moral government of the world; and they could not get away from the inference and the conviction that holiness is of vast importance

Emphasized the righteousness of God

in the estimation of him who has called the race into being and seeks to have all men become partakers of the divine nature.

After all, in the emphasis which they put upon righteousness in their conception of the character of God, were not these Pilgrims in exact line with our Lord

In line in his great intercessory prayer? He began
with our by saying "Father." How tender and sweet
Lord the word must have sounded as it fell on the
ears of the disciples from the lips of Jesus!

He said "O Father." He did not stop, however, with this simple form of address; but went on to characterize the fatherhood. What were the qualifying words which he applied? They were these two very significant ones — "holy" and "righteous." The forms he used were "holy Father" and "righteous Father." To thoughtful minds it cannot be a matter of small import that our Lord, in the situation in which he then was, and in the service in which he was then engaged, should have employed just these adjectives. One can think of other descriptive terms which might have been used, and which would seem to lie in line with the ordinary idea of fatherhood; but Jesus with his divine insight turned from all these and said — "holy Father," "righteous Father."

It is not possible to insist too strenuously on the love of God; but it is possible to misconceive what the love of God is, and to degrade it into a vapory sentimentalism. The fatherhood of God is a truth precious and sacred beyond expression; but it will not do to eliminate righteousness from the conception of it. It is because the fatherhood which is brought to our knowledge in the New Testament is a righteous fatherhood that it is ideal and evermore worthy of confidence. The God in whom the Pilgrims believed had in him robust moral qualities. Faith in such a God put iron into their blood, strength into their muscles, and determination into their wills. They loved; but they preferred to show their love, not so much in ardent expressions of affection as in keeping the commandments.

II

The religion of the Pilgrims, as might be inferred from the attitude of reciprocity and obedience which they took towards God, was of the positive, earnest, and enduring type. The full enjoyment of religion was one of the chief motives which led them from England to Holland, and from Holland to America. They never sought to revise their estimate of the surpassing importance of things spiritual over things material. Godliness was always more to them than gain. From beginning to end they made the kingdom of God the first object of their seeking. Whatever means were available for developing and strengthening their religious life they used. They had frequent occasion to be solicitous; but the anxiety which burdened them most heavily was anxiety lest they fall short on the Godward side and fail to live up to the standard of their convictions. They believed, and therefore they had power. It was unto them according to their faith.

Some characteristics of their religion, and some of the methods by which they fostered and developed spiritual life, are evident from what has gone before, and call for only brief mention.

The Pilgrims were men of prayer. Closet devotions and family devotions, as well as public devotions, had a place in the economy of their lives. Prayer did not seem to them a meaningless act, nor a fruitless act, nor an act unbecoming in a rational creature.

They had no idea that the Maker of the universe and the Author of our being is so hedged in by his own laws that he cannot hear the cries of his earthly children and come to their relief; or that what is fondly supposed to be communion with God is only a kind of intellectual gymnastic which ends in its own motions; or that the Master was under the spell of a fascinating illusion when he supposed he was holding intercourse with the Father, or mocked the disciples when he instructed them to ask in the assurance that they were to receive, and to say "Thy Kingdom

Come." When in sore straits, or when grave questions were up for adjustment, these men never failed to come together and to unite in earnest supplication that they might be directed from on high. Nor was any day so crowded, nor any work which they had in hand so pressing, that they did not take time to open their hearts to God and seek his guidance and strength. "After prayer" is a phrase which recurs and flashes like a diamond on the pages of their narratives.

The Pilgrims were strict in their observance of the Sabbath. They counted the hours of the first day of the week sacred. As they allowed no outward demand or interest to interfere with their duty and privilege of prayer, so they never indulged themselves in any desecration of the time set apart for rest and worship. "Remember," "keep holy," were written not only in the Book, but on the tablets of their hearts. Recall the Sunday spent on Clark's Island. Was there ever a more marked instance of conscientious observance of holy time?

To the Pilgrims the Church was a divine institution. God and not men had originated it and defined its functions.

The church They cherished it as the apple of the eye.
a divine They watered it with their tears. They kept it
institution alive by their sacrifices. They warmed it into
efficiency by their devotions. They sought
in every way to guard its honor. As soon
would they have thought of establishing a colony without soil to till, or air to breathe, as of attempting to found and build up a happy and successful community without a church. The fellowship of believers in the worship of God was to them an essential of right living.

The Pilgrims had faith in the providential guidance of God, and in the divine purpose to turn all events to the good of his people. Fortunate was it for them that their minds took this direction and that they were led to entertain these views. For the share they had to accept of adversity and sorrow was very large. They knew what it was to be turned and overturned by malignant foes; but instead of their faith being weakened it was strength-

ened by what they had to endure. They were not soured but softened by afflictions. Fires did not consume, but refined them. In the darkest of their midnights they sang. Their sore distresses, their temptations and thwartings of purpose, were met in a way to set them forward in patience and holiness. Their knowledge of things divine was wider, their devotion was more earnest, there was more vigor and symmetry in their character, because of what they suffered. Suffering, like the law, was a schoolmaster to bring them to Christ.

The Pilgrims were lovers of the Book. To them the Bible was a divinely inspired volume. They read it; they pondered over it; they discussed its teachings one with another; they applied its precepts to their daily lives; they put cheer into their hearts and invigorated their courage with its promises; and they sought in all things to be governed by its directions. In a very literal sense the Scriptures were a lamp unto their feet and a light unto their paths. With the truths which they found in them they fed their souls into health and robustness. At the fountain which they opened to them they quenched their thirst, and knew that they had been drinking the waters of life. With them "Thus-saith-the-Lord" was an end of controversy.

Some of the views of the Scriptures held by the Pilgrims — their views, for instance, of the method and measure of inspiration, of the way in which some of the books were constructed, the inerrancy of some of the statements made, and the right interpretation and application of some of the ceremonial teachings of the Old Testament — would hardly stand the test of a ripened and devout scholarship. They misunderstood some passages, they misapplied some passages, just as others through the centuries have done, and just as others are still doing; but the interpretations in which they erred, and the applications in which they missed the mark, were of small consequence in comparison with those in which to their own good, the good of the world and the glory of God they succeeded. No argument

of doubters and no skill of critics could have persuaded these men that the Bible is not a self-authenticating revelation of the will of God to mankind. To them the reality and genuineness of its inspiration were made evident in the inspiration which an earnest and honest reading of it brought to their own souls.

If they turned to the Old Testament for instruction and encouragement somewhat more frequently than average believers in these modern times are wont to do, it was only what might have been expected. Oppressed and humiliated, driven from their homes and spoiled of their earthly goods, guilty of no crime but the crime of believing in Jesus Christ, and trying in his name to live simple, pure and fruitful lives, and forced to worship, if they had any worship in common, in secluded chambers, or in the dens and caves of the earth, they went back instinctively to those old days of storm and stress when the times were so sadly out of joint, and good men were forced to suffer every kind of indignity and wrong. Here they found parallels to their own harsh treatment. Here they discovered how men, who trusted in God, would carry themselves in emergencies when corruption was running riot in society, and the authorities in church and state were in league with the powers of darkness, and foes, full of deceit and cruelty and armed to the teeth, confronted them on every side. Here, likewise, they gathered comfort and reinforcement of purpose in the assuring words of stout and undaunted prophets. Here the uplifting songs of psalmists, whose clear voices of trust and unfaltering notes of hope, ringing out over all the tumult of the hour, charmed them into fresh confidence in God.

It is one of the encouraging signs of the times that both for instruction in righteousness and for devotional aid, people are turning with a renewed interest to the Old Testament. It will be a long time hence when the world has nothing more to learn from the story of Moses and Isaiah, and can no longer sit with profit at the feet of Elijah and Daniel, and has no further use for the Twenty-Third Psalm.

In addition to these more conventional, but exceedingly

fruitful ways of fostering their religious life, the Pilgrims kept an open mind. They walked with their faces towards the light, and in constant expectation that through the ministry of the Spirit, the unfolding of Providence, and the faithful study of the Word, clearer views of truth, and a better apprehension of the bearings of truth on life, would be granted to them.

It has been a question in debate whether Robinson in his farewell words to the departing Pilgrims — recalled and committed to paper by Winslow twenty-five years or more after they were spoken — to the effect that further light might be expected to break forth from the Scriptures, had reference to church government or to spiritual truth.

Dismissing all prejudice and reading the whole passage as it stands, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that something more vital than mere polity must have been in the mind of the author. At all events, this was the accustomed attitude of the man and the mental habit which he encouraged in his followers.

He and his people kept the inlets of their souls open to all fresh revealings of the will of God. They held fast to what truth they had; but if there was more to be unfolded they stood ready to give it welcome. Their God was a living God. He was a very present help. He had secrets, they were sure, to whisper to those who trusted in him and tried to walk in his ways. Their eager searchings for the path of duty, their wide inquiries here and there of persons who might be supposed to know, when perplexing questions were up for settlement, were sometimes pathetic. For more light they always had a ready hospitality.

Indeed, one of the most impressive facts brought out in a study of the spiritual side of the Pilgrims is the intimacy they seemed to have with God, and the way in which their lives were ensphered in him. To them the divine imminence was a reality. God was not afar; he was near. He had an ear to hear, and they could speak to him. In the thought of



THE PILGRIM MONUMENT, PLYMOUTH



Bradford, Brewster, and the rest of them, God was just as close to their need as he had been to Abraham and Moses, to David and Isaiah, or to John and Paul and other early disciples.

In view of the direct access which they felt that they had to God in this conception of his nearness, it has sometimes been said that the Pilgrims were mystics.

Not mystics Were the charge true it would be nothing to their discredit. For there is a vital truth in mysticism — only this vital truth was in Christianity before it was in mysticism, and we do not have to go to mysticism to find it. But in the technical sense of the term the Pilgrims were not mystics. They were mystics only to the degree in which all genuine Christians are mystics. They did not rely on feeling. They did not fall back on the claim of a supernatural sense. Waiting quietly in the temper of a serene openmindedness, and expecting in this way to receive all the light which they needed, was foreign to their habit.

They did wait. They were openminded. The windows of their souls were flung wide to the sunrisings; and while, it may be, they saw no flaming visions, yet in
Had their own experience the radiance of the instreaming light they saw things with their own eyes. They had attent ears, and notes of the old, but ever new song of the morning stars were caught by them and turned into music for the day's march. They had experiences in the Mount to which their bronzed but shining faces bore testimony. They knew Christ because they believed him, and they believed him with an increasing confidence and tenacity because they knew him. The Spirit witnessed with their spirits; and because of his indwelling they were able to bear personal witness to the truth. Their contact with the Father in all the leading ways in which he comes into manifestation to his children was direct. Things divine were real to their apprehension. They would not have made the statement with the same assurance; but "We know" would have had just as much pertinency on the lips of these men as on the lips of the great apostle. They did not know so much; but what they did know they knew

with an equal certainty. The gates of their souls turned easily on their hinges; and it took but a touch of the unseen Hand to swing them open and secure admission for thoughts from on high. In the disclosures of still hours, in earnest meditation, and through intercourse with God and with one another, they were made rich in heavenly lore.

Still the Pilgrims were not mystics. They used all the faculties they possessed in quest of the truth. Reason and feeling, faith and patience, activity and serene passiveness were all brought into requisition to secure a better understanding of the character and will of God. They searched the Scriptures. They meditated and prayed. They studied providences and compared opinions. They were eager learners in the school of adversity. They sifted theories and subjected them to the test of their every-day and well-seasoned sagacity. If, in the university sense, these men were not scholars, they were yet sturdy thinkers; and they had no idea that they were to be floated away on dream-clouds into the realm of truth. Their faith was ear-marked by hard work and a determination to know God, and they spared no efforts to understand how one may come into right relations with God.

It is just as wide of the mark to say that the Pilgrims, in virtue of the immediacy of their experience of God, and of their first hand knowledge of the truths which lie at the basis of Christian character and give form and force to Christian life, went behind the Bible in any such way as is commonly understood or implied when this kind of language is used. To the extent and in the manner already described they went behind the Bible, but not otherwise.

They did not regard the Bible with an idolatrous devotion, but on its pages they saw the revelation of the divine will, and in its directions they caught the accents of the divine voice. The Bible was the road, and not the end of the journey. It was the lamp whose clear shining lighted them on the way. It was the hand that led them. It was their chief help to immediacy of contact with the Father, and their unerring guide in finding Christ and coming under

Not rationalists

the power of the Holy Spirit. In no other way did they go behind the Bible. On the contrary they cherished and exalted the Bible.

What the Pilgrims wanted was a working knowledge of the deep things of God. This is what they secured.

Sought They came into the secret of the hidden life.
working They knew God through the inbreathing of
knowledge his vitalizing truth. They knew him in the
of God realized purpose of his chastenings. They knew him in the consciousness of adoption into sonship. They knew him in the moral energy

he is sure to impart when he wishes to prepare men for some impressive testimony to the truth, or some signal service to mankind. Their knowledge was a knowledge which comes from a thought to thought, heart to heart, life to life relationship with God. Dull eyes see not, and dull ears hear not; but these colonists for conscience' sake both saw and heard. Their religion was not of the hearsay order. They looked straight into the face of the Master. They caught the whispers of his voice. They had a first hand and not a second hand experience. They could take oath of their own knowledge.

So whatever may be said about their views, and whatever differences of opinion there may be concerning the wisdom

Had a of the methods by which they reached their
vital and results, and however unsatisfactory much of
vitalising their theology and exegesis may seem to up-to-date scholarship, it is not to be denied that the
religion Pilgrims had a religion which was at once vital and vitalizing. It was as genuine as the stars.

It was as deep as life. It was as real as the soul. It was a religion which made weak men strong, and transformed simple men into heroes whose place in the temple of fame is forevermore secure. The Pilgrims, as has been intimated, may have been wrong in some of the details of their belief, and oversevere in some of their practises. No doubt they were. They may have emphasized some doctrines at the expense of proportion and the symmetry of the truth revealed to us in the Word. No doubt they did. But after all admissions are made, it is still a fact that their religion

One of the leaders became recreant to the trust which was reposed in him by his associates. He became connected with these people at Leyden. At the outset and for a long time he was honored and efficient. For the first three years in which Bradford held the office of governor, he was the chief executive's sole assistant. Important business interests were intrusted to him; and he was frequently sent abroad to make loans, adjust accounts, and purchase goods. He was one of the men who assumed responsibility for the debt incurred when the colonists bought out the Adventurers in 1627. But avarice became his master passion and ruined him. He fell through love of gain. Two things, however, are to be said about this man. He was the only one of the prominent members who ever brought the blush of shame to the colony by a betrayal of confidence and flagrant dishonesty. Having gone wrong, he soon found the atmosphere of the Pilgrim settlement uncongenial. He left the place and "died insolvent in reputation and estate."

After having lived ten years on these shores, another member of the colony was tried, convicted, and solemnly executed for murder. He came across in the *Mayflower*. His name is in the list of the immortal forty-one who signed the Mayflower Compact. He shared in the division of the Pilgrim properties. The Pilgrims must ever bear a measure of the odium which attaches to his name. But while he was a Pilgrim in this way, he was yet not a Pilgrim. Recall what Bradford says of him: "He and some of his kind had been often punished for miscarriages, being one of the profanest families amongst them. They came from London, and I know not by what friends shuffled into their Company." There is no evidence that he had ever had the least training in Pilgrim ideas, or had ever shown the least sympathy with Pilgrim views. The Pilgrim spirit was foreign to his nature and habit. He was among them, no doubt, for the reason that some Adventurer, who was an Adventurer for revenue only, had thrust him into the company, either to get rid of him, or because he thought

another pair of stout hands would increase the chances of better returns for the money invested in the enterprise. He was a bad man at the start, and he was a bad man all through. He well deserved his fate. But in no particular, save in name and accidental association, was he ever a Pilgrim. He lived and died "a knave."

There were times when social vices prevailed to some extent. In his "History" Bradford opens the record of events for 1642 with a bitter wail. The colony had then been in existence more than two decades; and our author did not attempt to disguise the chagrin and pain he felt over the situation.

"Marvelous it may be to see and consider how some kind of wickedness did grow and break out here." He specified "drunkenness and uncleanness," and some things "fearful to name." It is a dark picture as the colors are laid on by the brush of this white-souled painter. Were one to read just so much and no more of what the chapter contains, he might conclude that the state of affairs was something dreadful, if not utterly hopeless. One would infer that some people, reading this book, have stopped at this paragraph.

Naturally Bradford was solicitous to ascertain the causes of what seemed to him an appalling outbreak of immorality.

He found them in "our corrupt nature," in the "spite" of the devil against the churches, in the long restraint under which "wickedness" had been "more nearly looked unto" and "stopped by strict laws," and which made it all the more violent and reckless when it did break out, and in the fact that sins were there "more discovered and seen" than in other places.

This latter explanation of a condition of things which brought so much sadness to the Pilgrim governor is worth considering. Bradford himself seems to have been a bit surprised when he came upon it, and led to question whether after all he had not been exaggerating the evil side of things, and expressing more alarm than what was actually going on, called for, or warranted. "Here," so he says, "here is not more evils in this kind, nor nothing near so many by proportion, as in other places; but they are here more

discovered and seen, and made public by due search, inquisition, and due punishment; for the Churches look narrowly to their members, and the magistrates over all, more strictly than in other places."

The Pilgrims were sensitive to moral evil in all its forms. Indiscretion, trivial offences, tendencies which had a downward look, indulgences, which might grow into bad habits and undermine character, as well as gross iniquities, were apt to fill them with fears and create apprehension of much worse things to come. Often it required sober second thought, and such comparisons as were instituted in the paragraph just quoted, to correct these unfavorable conclusions, and make it plain that vice and crime were not in the ascendant. These men had a hard battle to fight; but it was with forces outside rather than inside of their colony.

Further on in the narrative which covers the period for 1642, Bradford asks the pertinent question: "But it may be demanded how came it to pass that so many wicked and profane people should so quickly come over into this land?" The governor's answer is illuminating. There were many things to be done. Buildings were to be erected, lands were to be cleared, agricultural operations were to be carried on, and improvements were to be pushed. Employers had to take such help as they could get. Hence many "untoward servants" were brought over and set to work — "both men and women kind, who, when their times were expired, became families of themselves." This helped to lower the general average of the standing of the community.

This was not all, however. In that high tide of migration which swept toward America in the ten years from 1630 to 1640, the business of transporting "passengers and their goods" became active, and competition was sharp. Ships were chartered for these voyages, and to "advance their profits," the masters took anybody aboard who "had the money to pay them." "By this means the country became pestered with many unworthy persons, who, being come over, crept into one place or another."

This is Bradford's explanation of the increase in wickedness which he saw about him, and which brought him such keen distress. It was the fresh importations from England of apprentices, servants, laborers of one grade and another, and the coming in upon them of restless, roving adventurers, that swelled the sum total of vice and crime. A study of the criminal records of the colony with a view to ascertaining who were prosecuted and punished for wrong-doing will justify this statement. The particular case which filled the mind of Bradford with so much apprehension had its location in this class. In this way the Pilgrims have had to bear a great deal of unjust criticism. Men like Lyford and Rogers, the one an unmitigated rascal and the other the victim of an eccentric and unbalanced brain, have been called their ministers and charged up to the account of the Plymouth colonists; but neither one of them was ever a Pilgrim, and neither one of them was ever pastor of the Pilgrim church. From first to last the Pilgrims never failed to show their abhorrence of iniquity, and to make evident their deep and abiding purpose to live clean lives.

Ill-considered and unwarranted statements have sometimes been made to the effect that these colonists were mainly intent on material ends and making sure of things which were to their own advantage.

The Pilgrims had three tasks set to their hands. They had to make a living. They had to pay their debts. They had to build up their homes and their institutions. Had their financial circumstances been **What they** much better than they were, either one of these **had to do** tasks would have been a tremendous challenge to their faith and courage. All three of them together would seem to have been enough to dishearten the most resolute. Their living must be wrung out of the soil and the sea. Their debts could be paid only by patient toil, wise planning, slow accumulation, and the most distressing economy. Their institutions could be built up only by such overplus of strength and the fruits of industry and thrift as was left after the more immediate obligations of making a living and paying debts had been met. To accomplish these objects they sought to increase their resources by en-

tering into trade with the Indians, and with other people who might be induced to traffic with them. Working along this line they gathered and sent abroad such products and commodities as would bring a remunerative price in foreign markets. This is the explanation of their apparent absorption in material gains. They were where they were at "great cost."

But why efforts like these, for ends like these, should be thought to indicate the presence and sway of motives no higher than the ordinary wordly motives by which men are controlled does not seem clear. On the contrary, working hard to make an honest living, paying debts down to the last farthing, taxing brain and hand and heart for the welfare of coming generations, would appear to be conclusive proofs of an unselfish regard for the good of others.

One might as well say that selling houses and lands and other possessions, and arranging long and diligently for passage across the sea to Holland, were transactions which indicated a dominating worldly spirit when these about-to-be exiles were planning to leave Scrooby. Or, again, one might as well say that weaving, carpentering, candle-dipping, hat-making, baking bread, setting type, and the other occupations which they pursued in order to earn a living, filled the minds of the Pilgrims to the exclusion of other thoughts and aims there at Leyden, as to say it of them at Plymouth, when, with intense eagerness, they were bending their utmost energies to such employments as promised to set them on their feet, and aid them in making good, alike for themselves and their posterity, their great hope and purpose of a church and a state founded on the basis of democracy.

These insinuations of a predominantly worldly spirit in the Pilgrims are unworthy and unjust; and the estimate of their character which rests on this view fails altogether to measure up to their moral stature. The interest shown by them in worldly industries and business enterprises stood for something quite other than all-absorbing regard for worldly gain. They were men of pure intent and lofty spirit. Things honorable in the sight of the wise

Altruistic
aims and
lofty
character

and good, things manifestly approved of God, things in which posterity might rejoice, were constraining motives in their lives. Their lives were hard, self-denying and full of toil; but they were sweet. They were sweet, because, like the heavens over them, they were sweetened by the breath of God. Ocean winds kept their bodies full of ozone; and the winds of the Spirit kept their hearts full of health and vigor. They could toil when so faint that they staggered in the fields; they could starve; they could die: but they would not barter away their souls, nor lower their standards of character. Temptations beset them, as they beset all men everywhere; but the solicitations of ease and earthly pleasure and worldly gains and ends other than those which bear the stamp of divine approval, were never enticing enough to lead them to strike the flag of their integrity and come to terms with unrighteousness. They had no respect for theories of life which are not exacting; and they knew that they could maintain their own self-respect and the approval of conscience only by walking uprightly, working righteousness, and speaking the truth in their hearts. Tested by any rational standard of loyalty to God, by any generally accepted code of Christian ethics, and by any worthy conception of patriotism, it will be found that the business dealings and daily lives of the Pilgrims reached high levels and revealed motives which cannot be resolved into terms of materialism. Character was what they aimed at; and character of a sterling type was what they achieved.

IV

The Pilgrims emphasized the faithful discharge of duties to the state. Conscientious in the conduct of their homes, in the management of their business, and in the practical expression of their religion, they were conscientious in the performance of their political obligations.

This was a natural outgrowth of their views of the state, and of the attitude which they thought all good citizens ought to take towards the state. For these founda-

tion-layers of the republic held that the state, like the church, is a divine institution. It has on it the stamp of divine authority. It is the bond by which society is held together, and the condition of progress in intelligence, wealth, power, and happiness. It is set up not that the few may be exalted and the many degraded, but that there may be order and a fair chance for each well-disposed person to go his way and do his work and enjoy the rewards of his toil and thrift.

With this view entertained by them of the origin and purpose of the state, it is not difficult to see in what estimate they would hold the laws which might be passed by the state. It was not simply that a few men had come together and by a majority vote had expressed an opinion on some matter of public interest; but, done by the constituents of the state and in the name of the state and for the welfare of the state, the act was lifted out of the realm of mere opinion and clothed with a kind of divine sanction. It is not difficult, either, to see what sort of measures they would seek to have enacted into laws. It would be only such as they deemed to be in accord with the divine will. A law out of line with God would have seemed to them simply monstrous. They did not hold that the voice of the people is the voice of God; but they did hold that the voice of God ought to be the voice of the people.

Entertaining these views, the Pilgrims insisted that every man should meet the full measure of his public obligations and bear his full share of the public burdens. They made equal rights and the liberty of the individual the corner-stone of their political edifice because they conceived this to be in closest accord with the thought of God and the dignity of man. But while they claimed equal rights and conceded liberty on this high ground, they also did it in the confident expectation that under this system of government men would take more interest in public affairs and be more thoughtful of the good of the commonwealth. They saw the value of civic pride; and this was the way taken by them to insure and cultivate the spirit of patriotism — they gave every

man a voice in making and administering the laws, and then they held every man responsible to the limit of his ability for all demands made upon him by the state. Opportunities were opened to all and burdens were distributed to all. It was not on the few but the many that the state was made to rest; and it was not the few alone but the many who were to see to it that no harm came to their little republic. Men of the largest abilities and widest experience, and who were most deeply engrossed in private affairs, might not plead exemption when called to serve the public; and men of the smallest capacity and the least influence and with the least at stake might not hide under their insignificance when called upon to express their views through the ballot. Citizenship was at a premium. In tracing the development of their government we have seen how men were fined for refusing to exercise the elective franchise, or for declining to hold an office to which they had been elected; and how towns lost standing by neglecting to have their representatives at the general court. It was the way these Pilgrims had of emphasizing their sense of the obligation every citizen of the state is under to meet and discharge the full measure of his duties to the state.

It would be foolish to try to disguise the fact that right at this point where the colonists were wise and strong, many citizens of our great nation are sadly wanting. It has been forgotten that citizenship carries with it responsibilities as well as privileges, and that no man who means to be loyal to the flag may evade these responsibilities. The outlook is hopeful. There is an increasing sense of the responsibilities of citizenship. Both as respects the conscientious use of the ballot and willingness to turn aside from lucrative occupations for a while to fill important official positions, there have been marked gains in these later years. Still there is much to be desired. There is a class of men for whom the state, through its schools, its orderly arrangements, its just laws and its encouragement of foresight, industry and thrift, has done more than it is possible to schedule, who hold themselves quite above the duty of trying to secure the best men for office, or even of taking

Present-day short-coming

pains to vote on election-day. When it is suggested to these men that they take their turn at bearing the burdens and meeting the obligations of public station, they toss their dainty noses high in air and wreath their faces with smiles of lofty disdain. Pressure of business, disinclination to mingle with the begrimed and noisy crowds which are supposed to infest the polling-booths, engagements at the club, fondness for books and the pursuit of culture, and the mild attractions of slippered ease, are allowed to override duties to country; and large numbers of intelligent and virtuous citizens, who ought to count it at once a sacred duty and a high privilege to take some positive part in giving right direction to public affairs, when the battle is on slink away like cowards, and then attempt to justify their action by confessions which are shameful impeachments of their patriotism. Public duties are not to their taste. The idea of serving is ignored.

Now and then some shocking exposure of graft fills these overdainty citizens with a momentary horror and startles them out of their criminal lethargy. It is more than likely, however, that the sudden burst of indignation will be only the flash of a few shavings on fire, or a rumble of thunder which brings no rain. When the next election-day comes round, or the next petition to hold an important office is presented, the same old excuse of pressing private duties, or pleasure, or intended absence from home, will be offered, and the state will be left to get on as best it can.

If this were all, the situation would not be so bad. But there are instances in which the neglect assumes criminal aspects. Men of financial standing and of large influence in the community, men who are concerned in important industrial projects in the shape of public utilities, refuse to hold office on the ground that they cannot afford the time and strength for such service. But they have time and strength, through their agents, directly and indirectly, to bribe officials of easy virtue, in order to secure what they want. In justification of their disreputable doings they say it is "necessary," or "cheaper," to do this

than to make an open fight for franchises. Hence we have corrupt aldermen, corrupt representatives, corrupt congressmen, and corrupt officials all along the line. There would be no purchasable officials if there were not somebody to purchase them. There would be no "boodlers" if there were no supply of "boodle." The bribe-taker ought to be set in the pillory and branded with contempt; but by his side, with the edge of the pillory-board a little closer to his neck, and the scorn of the public a great deal sharper, there ought to be the bribe-giver. It is useless to try to improve things with men who are hungry for spoils, if no notice is taken of men who shirk their fair share of public burdens and buy their way to advantages on which they may fatten at the public expense.

It is in vain to look for a return of the simplicity of the early days when the people were few and poor, and the aim of the leaders was so unselfish and high. All the same, the cure for a large number of our present evils lies in a general and genuine revival of the patriotic spirit and deep sense of obligation to serve which characterized the members of the Plymouth colony. The men who might be leaders must consent to lead.

· Influential men must be ready to vote and to hold office. From first to last the Pilgrims kept their best men at the front in the administration of public affairs. From first to last the best men in the colony took a practical interest in public affairs. On what other plan than this can our cities, our several states, and the nation at large, ever expect to deal successfully with the gangs of thieves and robbers who scheme their way into our legislative bodies, or haunt the lobbies and force all who would gain their ends to drop shining coins into their political slot-machines? In our civic affairs we need the reinstatement of the Plymouth Rock conscience.

This means that there must be an elevation of our standards in all departments of life. Sharp dealing in business, frenzied financiering, systematic tax-dodging, corruption in social circles, extortion brought about by the creation of monopolies and the stifling of wholesome competition,

trampling on the Ten Commandments on the ground that they are antiquated, and relegating the Sermon on the Mount to the limbo of impracticable conceits, will lead to all sorts of intrigues and conspiracies for defrauding the state. It is illogical to look for an improved public sentiment until there has been an improvement in individual living. With a rejuvenescence of moral sense in the individual, and a settled determination to do business on the basis of honesty and straightforwardness, with our homes made sweeter and our social life lifted to a higher plane, and with our churches alive with the purpose to win men to God and to build them up in righteousness, we may reasonably expect to see less selfish plotting, less buying and selling of votes, less corrupt use of patronage, and less coming short of all sorts in the administration of public affairs.

V

The Pilgrims were sensitively alive to the future. They planned, they toiled, they made sacrifices, for the future. They could face perils, rise superior to hardships and sorrows; but they could not be indifferent to the future. One of the urgent reasons for leaving Leyden was the welfare of their posterity. Another was the hope of doing something, even though it were only to make themselves "stepping-stones unto others," to propagate the gospel and set up the kingdom of Christ in these remote parts. It was always something out ahead of them which stirred their imaginations, quickened their pulses, and impelled them to action.

The Pilgrims of the Plymouth colony were not aggressive in the same way and to the same extent as were the Puritans of the Bay colony. The late Dr. Byington, in his book on the Puritan, has a chapter in which he institutes a comparison of the contributions made by the two colonies to the subsequent development of the laws and institutions of the land on whose shores they settled. It is needless to say that the comparison is

marked by intelligence, candor, and general fairness. He claims much for the Puritans, as is just; and he concedes much to the Pilgrims, which is their due. In his view "the influence of the Puritans upon New England has been greater in some respects than that of the Pilgrims." He asserts that "the intellectual life of New England, and much of the best religious life, has come from them." He makes the further and more significant statement that "the energy, the enterprise, the political sagacity, the genius for creating new types of government," are our inheritance from the Puritans. On the other hand, he admits that "the beauty, the poetry, of New England have come, in great part, from those who landed at Plymouth Rock. They have taught the world a larger tolerance, gentler manners, purer laws." These, it may be said again, are intelligent and careful estimates, and in the main they are sound.

A careful study, however, reveals somewhat more than is here conceded to go to the credit of the Pilgrims. In their

More to credit of the Pilgrims habit of returning to first principles and building on them, and in looking forward and weighing actions by their probable bearing on the future, the Pilgrims did some things which were more important to New England, to the whole land, and to the world, than were ever done by the Puritans. Nothing needs to be deducted from the priceless services rendered by other colonies on these shores; but there are particulars in which the contributions of the Pilgrims to the progress of mankind have no parallel in value.

Neither in numbers, nor in wealth, nor in learning, nor in capacity for such achievements as are conditioned on numbers and wealth and learning, were the **Resources limited** Pilgrims equal to the Puritans. The Pilgrims were constrained by their location and their pecuniary circumstances to a narrower life than the Puritans. It was the Puritans who started a college so soon after their arrival in New England, though the Pilgrims were intensely interested in education and lent their aid to this institution. So long as the Bay State endures, Harvard will be a standing monument to the re-

gard entertained by the founders of the Bay colony for sound learning. It was the Puritans who pushed out their settlements the more rapidly and took possession of wider areas of country. It was the Puritans who very early had their ships on the high seas, laden with their wealth-yielding cargoes. It was the Puritans who were thorns in the sides of royalty, and who were always giving trouble to high officials in church and state.

Nevertheless, when it comes to such fundamental and far-reaching qualities as "political sagacity," and "the genius for creating new types of government," it will be found that the Pilgrims must be accorded seats far in front of all competitors.

Achievements in government remarkable It was the Pilgrims, and not the Puritans, who discovered and announced the principles of democracy on which Massachusetts, New England, and the great republic were to build their institutions. The simple document, signed in the cabin of the ship which brought Carver and his company across the Atlantic, has been the directing and most vital force in the politics of the nation from the day on which it was drafted until now. Nothing ever done by any colony reached so far down into the heart of things political, and so far out into subsequent years, as the issuing of the covenant by which the Pilgrims organized themselves into "a civil body politic" on the broad basis of the equal rights of man.

It was the Pilgrims again, and not the Puritans, who, looking backward and then forward, brought to light and set up a genuine Congregationalism. The theory of a self-governing church was something which Endicott, at Salem, had to learn from Fuller, at Plymouth; and which the Bay colony had to relearn from the Old Colony. Dr. Byington concedes both these claims. "The Pilgrims," so he says, "had a Colony well organized and governed according to democratic principles, and a Church organized after the Congregational way before the Puritans came." The concessions are large ones. With so much settled all else in church and state alike were matters of detail.

It was the Pilgrims once more, and not the Puritans, who exemplified the most advanced toleration of the time. If

Roger Williams did not learn his principles of toleration from the Pilgrims, he might have done it. They were tolerant towards him when he was intolerant towards them; and he left Plymouth because he was not able at that time to mount to the high table-land of appreciation and forbearance which they occupied.

It may be doubted whether there has been another group of men in all history who were charged at once with the responsibility of state-building and church-building, who laid the foundations of these two structures so broadly, and with such a far, wise look into the future, as this little band of Pilgrims who set foot on Plymouth Rock in 1620. What is more, they not only laid the foundations broadly and wisely, but their superstructures, political and ecclesiastical, when completed, were found to be consistent with the ground plan. The latter end of their commonwealth did not forget the beginning. We are living in the to-morrow which these simple, but far-visioned seers and statesmen foresaw and for which they wrought. We are to do to-day with all fidelity each bit of work which lies at our hands. This will make our next day brighter, and by so much set the world forward. We shall still lack something, however, of the Pilgrim spirit, if, in the conduct of our schools and colleges, in the ordering and working of our churches, in the direction we give to our domestic, social, and industrial economies, in the management of our philanthropic and missionary organizations, and in the framing of our laws and the shaping of our public policies, we do not keep steadily in mind the welfare of those who are to live after us.

"O, Thou Holy One and Just,
Thou, who wast the Pilgrim's trust,
Thou, who watchest o'er their dust,
By the moaning sea;
By their conflicts, toils and cares,
By their perils and their prayers,
By their ashes, make their heirs
True to them and Thee."

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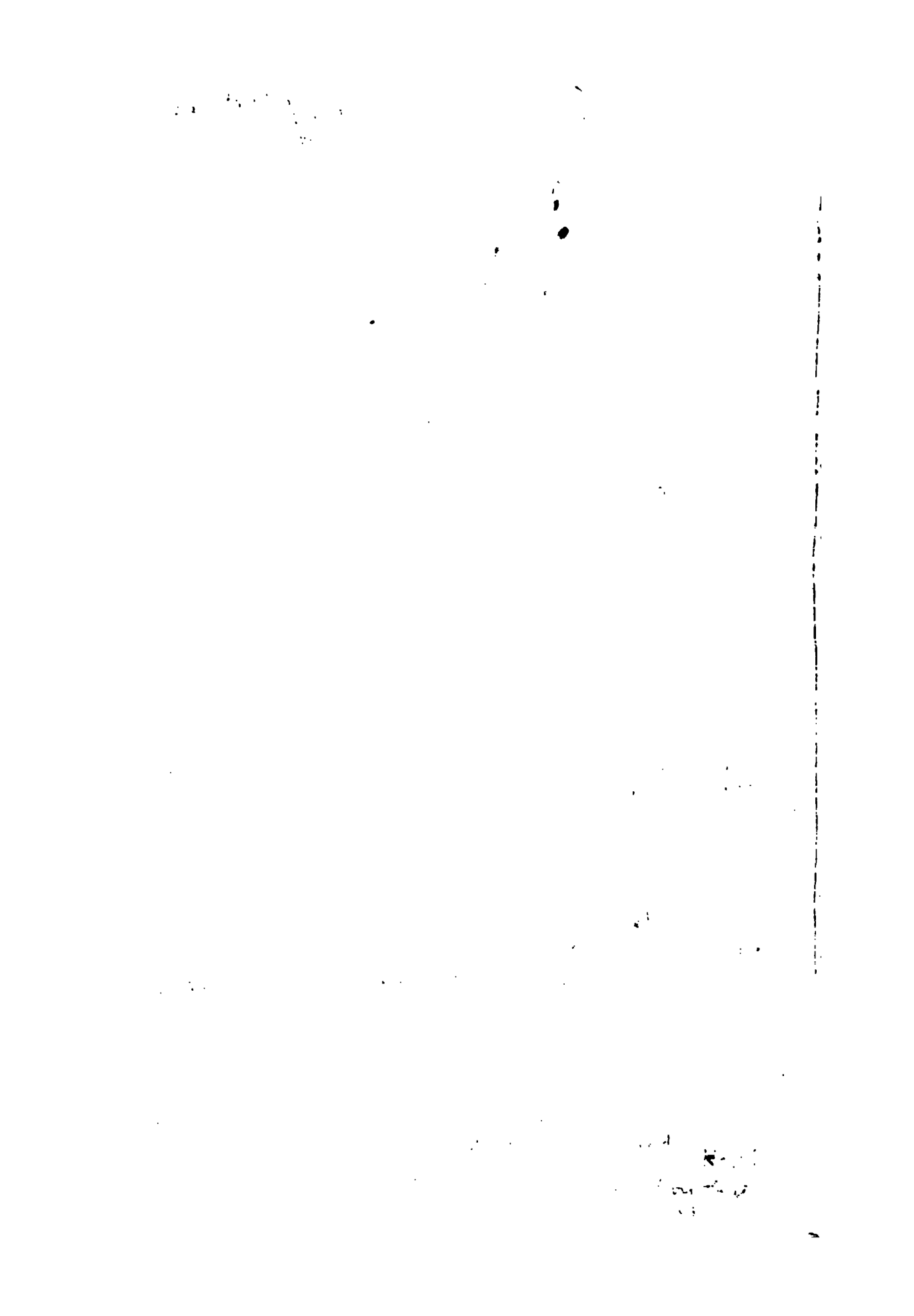
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